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A Comparative Demographic Analysis of Two Louisiana Cities: Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

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A COMPARATIVE DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF TWO LOUISIANA CITIES: BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this demographic analysis is to compare the populations of two Louisiana cities, Baton Rouge and Shreveport, with reference to number and distribution, race and nativity, age composition, the balance between the sexes, marital condition, educational status, occupational status, religious affiliation and population change. For the greater part the data utilized in the study were obtained from United States Government Census and Vital Statistics publications. When deemed reliable and useful, however, other sources of information were consulted.

Each of these urban centers is located on a river: Baton Rouge on the Mississippi River in south-central Louisiana and Shreveport on the Red River in the extreme northwestern part of the state. In 1950, Shreveport ranked as the second city in size in Louisiana, with 127,206 residents, and Baton Rouge was third with a population of 125,629. Whites constitute more than two-thirds of the population of both cities, with Shreveport's proportion of nonwhites slightly exceeding that of the Capital City. The nonwhites of both metropolitan centers consist almost entirely of Negroes, who live generally in definitely segregated areas, particularly in Shreveport. The foreign-born whites are of minor importance, constituting only a fraction of one per cent in each city.

The population of Baton Rouge is younger and more masculine than that of Shreveport, which is characterized by relatively higher proportions of females and aging persons. In both cities the greatest concentration of persons is in the productive ages, and sex ratios under 100 prevail. Among Baton Rouge inhabitants a higher ratio of males to females prevails than among the residents of Shreveport. In 1950 more than two-thirds of the adults in both cities were married, but this was the case for relatively more males in Shreveport and for more females in Baton Rouge.

The median school year completed and the proportion of persons having completed four or more years of college are higher in Baton Rouge, but relatively more persons within the school ages are in attendance at school in Shreveport. The educational status of the population of both of these cities is higher than that of any other substantial component of Louisiana's population. In the two cities, as would be expected, whites have a higher educational attainment than nonwhites and females higher than males.

The most important occupational category in both cities is that of "private wage and salary workers." Baton Rouge workers are primarily engaged in physical-production activities in blue-collar categories, while in Shreveport service-production activities of the white-collar variety predominate. The majority of church-affiliated persons are Protestant, with Baptists ranking first in importance. Catholics rank

second numerically in Baton Rouge and third in Shreveport.

Indexes of fertility indicate that some of the recent rapid population increase in both cities is due to relatively high birth rates. However, in-migration seems to be by far the more important factor. Recent reports indicate that more than 50 per cent of the population of Baton Rouge has lived there less than 15 years, and similarly that the newcomers to Shreveport number over 300 families per month.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

This study employs a comparative approach in the demographic analysis of two Louisiana cities, Baton Rouge and Shreveport. The study is primarily based on data collected and made available by the United States Bureau of the Census, and utilizes additional information from other dependable sources. In addition to the basic comparison of the residents of the two urban areas which is the central purpose of the study, similar data are introduced for the rural-farm population of Louisiana and other areas in order to provide perspective and further identify typical or distinctive urban characteristics.

The first three chapters serve to provide the orientation for the study. This introductory series of chapters states the purpose and comments upon the importance of the study; presents the historical background, ecological development, and the general format of the cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport; and briefly surveys the literature that is pertinent to the study. Succeeding chapters analyze the population with reference to number and

distribution, composition, the vital processes, and population change. The final chapter presents conclusions and sociological implications emerging from the analysis.

The purpose of the study is threefold. The first aim is to make a systematic analysis of the demographic phenomena of the two cities, with the use of the standard statistical procedures, which will disclose the major similarities and differences between the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport. A second purpose is to provide insofar as is possible, verifiable information which will add to the store of tested demographic data concerning urban areas in general. The third and final aim is to supply useful information for public planners in these two Louisiana cities which should facilitate anticipation of the needs of their individual populations in such areas as education, health, employment, and goods and services.

Importance of the Study

The tremendous impact of population numbers and distribution is of vital interest to all communities and political units. Every other social factor is relative to population, and conversely population phenomena have meaning only in terms of culture patterns.

The social attitudes that influence the biological processes

determine the numbers, the selection, and the hereditary quality of successive generations,[1] because these social attitudes and interests control sex relations, marriage, racial intermixture, and the size of the family.[2]

Populations are continuously changing in size. When the size of a population is changing, the composition is likewise changing. For example, an aging population ordinarily has a lower birth rate than a young population. A low rate of natural increase, in turn, raises the median age of the population.[3] Likewise, migration influences the composition of the population.

Within the past five decades the United States has been rapidly changing from a rural agrarian population to an urban industrial population. At the time of the 1790 census there were no towns of 50,000 people, and only twenty-four urban places, having a population of 2,500 or more. By 1920, more than half of the people were living in urban areas and in 1950 about two-thirds of the United States population were classed as urban residents.

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[1] Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949) p. 531.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

During the period from 1790 to 1930 the South had never contained more than 25 per cent of the urban places in the United States. In 1950 it had 28.4 per cent of the urban places.[4] Because the South has retained its rural classification and character longer than any other region, the recent rapid urbanization in that area has special significance. The Gulf Coast area has experienced phenomenal urban development within the past two decades.

Heberle points out that urban places have seldom come into existence without the concentrated efforts of organized groups of men.[5] Thus, since the urban development of the South is the result of economic and social factors, the demographic data are vitally significant to the interpretation of this population trend and to any teleological process in future development.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport fit significantly into this total picture of residential and economic change in the South, and specifically in the Gulf Coast Region. A systematic and reliable analysis of their demographic phenomena should provide basic information for useful population projections, and for public planning.

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[4] T. Lynn Smith, "The Emergence of Cities," in Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, The Urban South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954) p. 28.

[5] Rudolf Heberle, "The Mainsprings of Southern Urbanization," The Urban South, ibid., p. 6.

Sources of the Data

The decennial reports of the United States Bureau of the Census provide the primary source of data for this analysis. The vital statistics reports of the United States Federal Security Agency's Public Health Service constitute a second major source of information.

In addition, materials have been secured from the City-Parish Planning Commission and the Chamber of Commerce of Baton Rouge and the City Planning Commission and the Chamber of Commerce of Shreveport. Some data were obtained by reference to historical publications on these two cities. Finally, certain items of information utilized in this study were assembled through private research efforts of the writer.

Methodology

The basic method utilized in this study is the statistical method. The application of statistics is limited, however, to simple computations which are readily interpreted by the nonspecialist in statistics. Graphs and charts have been utilized to the greatest possible extent in the belief that much demographic data are rendered more readily comprehendable by this means. Tables present all of the basic data that are pertinent to the analysis.

Techniques applied in population analysis are largely those outlined in Smith's Population Analysis,[6] and utilized by Smith and Hitt in The People of Louisiana.[7] For the technical statistical procedures the authority was Hagood and Price, Statistics for Sociologists.[8] An explanation of methods utilized will be discussed in detail in the appropriate chapters.

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[6] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948).

[7] T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952).

[8] Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1952).

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

With the increased awareness in recent years of the tremendous importance of population phenomena to the social scientist in furthering the understanding of social processes, considerable literature has accumulated. Furthermore, with continuing and accelerating trends toward urbanization, empirical studies of cities have found their place among the significant and useful contributions to such knowledge. It is not the intention of this writer to evaluate all of this population research, but to select from the literature only that which is considered directly relevant to this study.

Three groups of writings will be considered: selected demographic studies which have some similarity to this study; works that provide statistical techniques and methodology deemed appropriate to this analysis; and works of value in urban sociological studies that prove of assistance in interpretation of findings.

Selected Demographic Studies

One of the significant demographic studies of cities is by Calvin

F. Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities.[1] Schmid's work is an ecological and statistical study of social trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul, in which he treats certain social problems through an analysis of demographic characteristics. He traces the historical growth of the two cities, analyzes population trends, and then considers the problems emerging with the urbanization process. His major concern is with such practical aspects of the total picture as housing and the race problem. He attempts to relate the problems of social and personal disorganization to the demographic data. It is due to this fact, as well as to his systematic use of the statistical method and extensive utilization of cartographic techniques, that the work of Schmid is significant to this study. He has demonstrated that a socio-demographic analysis of cities can contribute to the understanding of the social and economic life of the modern urban center, as well as provide useful information to such groups as social agencies, educators, city planners and government officials charged with direct responsibility in the area. In this sense, his work represents a pioneer study and has served to encourage later efforts in this direction.

Urban demography is also indebted to Howard Whipple Green for his work, Natural Increase and Migration, Greater Cleveland,

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[1] Calvin F. Schmid, Social Saga of Two Cities (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937).

1917-1937.[2] This is one of the earliest studies that attempts the analysis of changes in the composition and characteristics of the people of a single metropolitan community. Covering a nineteen-year period, Green's concern is primarily with natural increase and migration as they had affected the population of Cleveland. The study is a detailed statistical analysis incorporating many tables, graphs and other cartographic materials, and demonstrating the possibilities of the use of census data in analysis of a city by census tracts. The summary and conclusions have provided stimulus for further studies, by Green and others, eventually resulting in a yearly publication of specific data for the city of Cleveland, titled The Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland. Green's work has pointed a way for practical contributions of demography to the interpretation and solution of certain urban problems.

The work by H. A. Shannon and E. Grebenich, The Population of Bristol,[3] is an example of a European study in demography which recognizes the importance of the factor of population. Shannon deals with migration into Bristol in historical perspective, from 1861 to 1931.

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[2] Howard Whipple Green, Natural Increase and Migration, Greater Cleveland, 1917-1937 (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1938).

[3] H. A. Shannon and E. Grebenich, The Population of Bristol (Cambridge, The University Press, 1943).

He treats adult migration from 1931 to 1938 and the influx of insured labor from 1920 to 1938, by various areas of the city. Grabenich considers selected aspects of the population problem such as mortality, fertility and the future population. Statistical procedures, utilizing life tables and reproduction rates, provide the basis for estimating future population.

Sara K. Gilliam's 132-page pamphlet, Virginia's People: A Study of the Growth and Distribution of the Population of Virginia from 1607 to 1943,[4] is primarily concerned with regional comparisons and population trends by residence, with particular attention to rural and urban differentials. Age, color, sex and migration are treated specifically. Some cartographic techniques are utilized, and detailed information is presented in tables in the appendix. This work is interesting primarily because of the demographic approach to the central problem: the adjustment of the population of Virginia to its resources, involving both social and economic motives. There is no systematic attention given to the vital processes.

A recent urban population study is C. A. McMahan's, The People of Atlanta.[5] This represents the first demographic study of

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[4] Sara K. Gilliam, Virginia's People: A Study of the Growth and Distribution of the Population of Virginia from 1607 to 1943 (Richmond: Population Study, Virginia State Planning Board, 1944).

[5] C. A. McMahan, The People of Atlanta (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1950).

a large urban population in the South. Presenting a systematic and detailed analysis of Atlanta, it largely follows the method and procedure utilized by T. Lynn Smith in his Population Analysis.[6] This work demonstrates the usefulness of such research in the rapidly urbanizing Southern region, and has encouraged similar projects.

Shortly after the completion of the above-mentioned work, a comparable problem was undertaken by William Edward Hopkins, who produced "A Demographic Analysis of Houston, Texas."[7] Also conforming to Smith's approach to demographic analysis, Hopkins considered the number and distribution, race and nativity, age composition, balance between the sexes, marital status, occupational status, religious composition, fertility, mortality, migration, and growth of the population of the city of Houston. These data are compared with corresponding demographic characteristics of Atlanta and New Orleans, showing Houston's relationship to these other two important Southern cities.

Although not an urban study, an informative and useful work in demography is that of T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of

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[6] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948).

[7] William Edward Hopkins, "A Demographic Analysis of Houston, Texas" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1951).

Louisiana.[8] Utilizing statistical and analytical techniques, this work presents a detailed demographic picture of the population of Louisiana. The analysis includes population number and distribution, certain characteristics of the population, and the vital rates. Migration, growth and redistribution, and population study in contemporary society are also treated. In systematic organization and adherence to scientific principles this work is especially helpful to a less experienced demographer engaged in empirical research. Not the least useful feature is the effective application of cartographic techniques, many of which were designed by the authors.

Another study in urban demography is the one recently completed by George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Negro in New Orleans: A Demographic Analysis,"[9] in which the author has applied refined techniques and employed sociological analysis in interpretation of the data. Demography is defined by Hillery as "the study of population size, of change in size, and of the manifestation of those factors in population movements and composition." The investigation begins with the number and distribution of the urban group under study.

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[8] T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, The People of Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

[9] George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Negro in New Orleans: A Demographic Analysis" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1954).

Composition of the population is then considered in its biosocial and institutional aspects. Hillery has also included familial and political characteristics, as well as educational and economic characteristics, thus placing emphasis on the sociological aspects. The demographic processes, operating in fertility, mortality and migration, provide the basis for analysis of population change. The main concern is with Negro-white differentials in New Orleans. In an attempt to explain these differentials Hillery applies the sociological theory of the self-fulfilling prophesy, which is an unusual treatment in demography. The effective use of tables and cartographic techniques serves to summarize the data. This study should stimulate interest in further exploration of the sociological implications of demographic phenomena.

The People of Tennessee: A Study in Population Trends, by John Ballenger Knox,[10] provides demographic information relative to Tennessee's population. Under the headings: Who They Are, Where They Are, How They Are, and What They Do, Knox has included data on origins, historical growth, race, age, sex, residence, marital status, fertility, mortality, migration, education, and economic status. The treatment is not exhaustive as Knox has disclaimed any attempt to produce "a heavy scientific treatise." He has presented 65 charts

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[10] John Ballenger Knox, The People of Tennessee: A Study in Population Trends (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1949).

containing detailed statistical data and a number of photographic illustrations. Also, at the end of each chapter is a summary of the data analyzed therein.

Sources for Methodology and Techniques

Population Analysis, by T. Lynn Smith,[11] referred to above, is recognized by many persons as a significant contribution among empirical studies in population analysis in the United States. It is comprehensive, logically organized, systematically developed, and incorporates many of the techniques that are essential to the student of demography. In addition to demonstrating the intricacies of analyzing population data generally, attention is given to the sources of data, to methodology, and to relationships among demographic phenomena. It provides, as well, a broad framework for the analysis of population data generally.

Homer L. Hitt suggests certain useful techniques in demographic analysis in an article entitled, "The Use of Selected Cartographic Techniques in Health Research."[12] He recommends the use of specific graphic devices to point up different features of the data.

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[11] Op. cit.

[12] Homer L. Hitt, "The Use of Selected Cartographic Techniques in Health Research," Social Forces, XXVI (1947), 189-196.

It is noted that more effective use can be made of the statistical map by careful selection of the series of shadings to correspond to the sequence of class intervals; also, by the arrangement of the breaks in class intervals to coincide with the average for all of the data. As a method of eliminating surface bias, Hitt suggests the use of circles as the units of shading in a geographic area. This permits the introduction of three, or even four, factors into a graphic configuration and thus increases the potentialities of the device. Hitt's discussion of the effectiveness of these graphic aids in analysis demonstrates the practical advantages to the researcher of utilizing cartographics generally in a demographic study.

Statistics for Sociologists,[13] by Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, includes the basic statistical methods which have been used in sociological research. Of interest to demographers is the chapter on "Presentation of Results," which considers in detail textual, tabular, and graphic forms, but gives particular emphasis to graphic presentation. Also useful is the section which deals with distributions of quantitative demographic characteristics. The earlier edition of this book, by Hagood,[14] contains a section devoted to selected

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[13] Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952).

[14] Margaret Jarman Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941).

techniques for population data, as well as discussion of computation of reproduction rates and construction of the life table.

One work of assistance to researchers in the field bears the broad title, Demography, and was compiled by the English social scientist, Peter R. Cox.[15] This book was prepared specifically "for actuarial students and for all who are concerned with population statistics." It is Cox's theory that there are dangers of error inherent in the use and interpretation of statistical data, against which only a thorough technical knowledge can guard. Therefore, his objective is to supply information on the technical and practical aspects of demographic analysis. His work, though neither as systematic nor as well organized as it might be, has the merits of specificity and detail. A particularly interesting section is the "Addendum," in which he examines the latest data and methodology in population projections. This treatment indicates the growing recognition of the importance of population research on a world-wide scale. Its interest to the demographic researcher, therefore, is not limited to the discussion of techniques. Cox himself, it must be noted, warns the reader to keep to "pure" demography, and cautions him not to pursue it out of its limits into "tempting byways" where demography "impinges upon the social sciences."

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[15] Peter R. Cox, Demography (Cambridge: The University Press, 1950).

But, in the writer's opinion, Cox, in the implications of his analysis, has failed to heed his own admonition.

Only recently available to researchers is a compilation of materials entitled Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers by A. J. Jaffee.[16] It presents a selection and condensation of lectures, exercises and readings given by the author in a course on statistics for demographers. The discussion begins with a description of the life table and its uses in demographic analysis. Under this topic are included complete reprints of such value-proven articles as, "A Short Method of Constructing an Abridged Life Table," by Lowell J. Reed and Margaret Merrell; "Short Methods of Constructing Abridged Life Tables," by T. N. E. Greville; and Vital Statistics Special Reports, "United States Abridged Life Tables, 1945." Other problems treated are selected statistical methods for standardization of populations, evaluating and correcting census returns, evaluating the completeness of birth and death registrations, internal migration, and population estimates. Each of these sections incorporates methods, laboratory materials, and reading materials which consist of complete reprints, such as those listed above, which are pertinent to the topic being considered. This is a volume of practical usefulness, particularly

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[16] A. J. Jaffee, Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951).

to the nonprofessional in demography.

Robert R. Kuczynski has been a noted researcher in the field of population for many years. Almost three decades ago, under the sponsorship of the Institute of Economics of The Brookings Institute, he undertook a series of studies intended to be a comprehensive survey of the trend of human fertility. It was titled, The Balance of Births and Deaths.[17] The first volume deals with Western and Northern Europe; the second volume considers Western and Southern Europe. The central problem in both is the question of Europe's declining fertility, and the topics of births, birth rates, fertility rates and age of mothers receive a penetrating analysis. The chapter on net reproduction rates is expecially useful to demographers.

A later work by Kuczynski, Fertility and Reproduction,[18] is devoted entirely to methods of measuring the balance of births and deaths.

In his capacity as Demographic Adviser to the Colonial Office, Kuczynski produced two volumes which are examples of systematic empirical research and population analysis. The study, Demographic

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[17] Robert R. Kuczynski, The Balance of Births and Deaths (Vol. I, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928; Vol. II, Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1931).

[18] Kuczynski, Fertility and Reproduction (New York: Falcon Press, 1932).

Survey of the British Colonial Empire,[19] covers West Africa and South Africa High Commission Territories. Thus a complete familiarity with Kuczynski's works assures an insight into selected research techniques as well as the principles of population analysis.

Literature of Assistance in Analysis

Preliminary to recent urban studies is the work edited by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess entitled The City.[20] Included therein is the essay written by Park more than a quarter of a century ago, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment." He points out that the city is not merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction, but is involved in and affected by the vital processes of the people who compose it. He terms the city "the natural habitat of civilized man," and, as such, a worthy object of concern. Park presents for investigation a number of problems characteristic of human behavior in the urban environment. Answers are still being sought to the questions which he has raised. In another chapter, entitled, "The Growth of the City,"

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[19] Kuczynski, Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire (London: Oxford University Press. Vol. I, 1948, Vol. II, 1949).

[20] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, (eds.) The City (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).

Burgess proposed the concentric zone theory of city development. In this same work Robert D. McKenzie discusses another question that has become of interest to urban sociologists, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community."

A decade and a half after the propositions set forth in The City, on the basis of data provided by the real-property inventories of 142 American cities, Homer Hoyt formulated what he designates as the "sector theory" of urban growth. In chapter six of The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities,[21] Hoyt presents what would seem to be a refutation of the concentric-zone hypothesis suggested by Burgess. This theory holds that a certain area, such as a low-rent district, tends to assume a wedge shape, gradually widening as it extends to the city's periphery, instead of forming a concentric zone. He likens the pattern of the American city to an octopus, "with tentacles extending in various directions along transportation lines." Hoyt further develops his theory in an article, "The Structure of American Cities in the Post-War Era."[22]

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[21] Homer Hoyt, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1939).

[22] Homer Hoyt, "The Structure of American Cities in the Post-War Era," American Journal of Sociology, 48 (1943), 475-492.

Gunnar Myrdal's book, Population: A Problem for Democracy,[23] one of the Godkin Lectures for 1938, is largely concerned with population policy, which is considered specifically as a current American problem. It is Myrdal's thesis that a planned program, based on demographic data, is not only logically possible, but is a real necessity. In developing his thesis he reviews the various population theories from Malthus and Mill to the birth-control advocates of today, and examines certain population characteristics in that context. He holds that the population problem is a political problem of social goals and planned social action. It is in this work that Myrdal has made the much-quoted statement, "In the present world all major issues, in all fields of government, are fraught with momentous consequences. But to my mind no factor--not even that of peace or war--is so tremendously fatal for the long-time destinies of democracies as the factor of population" (p. 237).

Urban Society, by Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert,[24] has some sections that are useful to the population analyst. Admitting to an eclectic approach to the study of urban society, the authors have drawn materials from many specialists, including city planners, as

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[23] Gunnar Myrdal, Population: A Problem for Democracy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940).

[24] Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Cowell Company, 1950).

well as social scientists. The discussions devoted to the ecology of the city and region, and to population and selective migration, are useful in this study. So is the one chapter which deals with factors in urban growth.

Warren S. Thompson's book, Population Problems,[25] presents factual data and theoretical bases for evaluation and interpretation of empirical data. Thompson establishes a world perspective for considering population trends and population policy. Of particular use to this study are those chapters concerned with factors in the growth of the modern city and the future of the large city. Although no general bibliography is included, a list of suggested readings is appended to each chapter, in addition to specific references in footnotes.

Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation by Paul H. Landis, revised by Paul K. Hatt,[26] is a recent demographic study. The first of five parts presents basic theories and fundamental facts of population growth; the second and third divisions deal with factors in population replacement and the sources and consequences of replacement differentials; the fourth section considers the distribution

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[25] Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems (New York, Toronto and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953).

[26] Paul H. Landis, Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation. Revised by Paul K. Hatt (New York: American Book Company, 1954).

of the population by place of residence and functional role; finally, the fifth part identifies the position of the United States with reference to world immigration policy and comparative demographic status. The unique character of this work consists in the treatment of population problems within a sociological setting. It is specified that "population phenomena have meaning only in terms of culture patterns" and that the modern analyst cannot fail to think in terms of sociocultural forces. These features assure the work an important place with the student of socio-demographic problems. The authors have included, as an additional resource, a special Appendix incorporating a reprint of "Essential Statistical Concepts and Methods in Demography," by Leo Silberman, which is a treatment of the techniques essential to modern demographic analysis.

One of the recent volumes to come to this writer's attention is the Reader in Urban Sociology, edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr.[27] It treats the problem of the city as a way of life, terming "modern society" as almost the equivalent of "urban society." The editors draw from the literature pertinent to the problem, choosing that which seems to them most significant. The contributors number more than fifty, and materials range from such early writings as those of

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[27] Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), Reader in Urban Sociology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951).

Robert E. Park, Georg Simmel, and Henri Pirenne to the recent contributions of Robert C. Angell, Abram Jaffee and August B. Hollingshead. Theorists, historians, empiricists and statisticians provide the content. The scope of the work is indicated in the major topics considered, which are: (1) The Nature of the City, (2) The Natural History of Urban Settlement, (3) The Growth Pattern of Cities, (4) The Spatial Pattern of Cities, (5) The Demographic Structure of Cities, (6) The Status Structure and Processes, (7) The Institutional Structure and Processes, (8) Personality and City Life, and (9) The City as an Artifact. The section on demographic structure and processes is useful in this study, and the other discussions serve to provide a conceptual framework and context. Particularly useful to the student of urban population is the bibliography which is included in the book and classified according to the topical organization indicated above.

Another recent book is The Urban South,[28] a symposium edited by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath.

The nineteen contributors to this volume are students of urbanism, but they are also concerned with regionalism. Generally well oriented in the problems of urbanism, they have the added

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[28] Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath (eds.) The Urban South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

advantages of living in the South and experiencing the influences of the processes of which they write. They are all professionally and personally interested in the population trends which are vitally influencing social change in the South.

The text deals with the following topics: urbanization of the South as an emerging phenomenon; organizational aspects of Southern cities; and finally, urbanism, change, and tradition. The latter section considers the question, "How will the South's new urbanism affect the region's future?" It is largely an attempt to identify specific forces and mechanisms of change present in the contemporary urban South.

The sections which are of greatest utility in the present analysis are the following: (1) "Peopling the City: Migration," by Homer L. Hitt; (2) Peopling the City; Fertility," by Robert M. Dinkel; (3) "The Ecology of Southern Cities," by Nicholas J. Demerath and Harland W. Gilmore; and (4) "City Planning: Adjusting People and Place," by F. Stuart Chapin, Jr.

CHAPTER III

FORMAT OF THE TWO CITIES

Although a hundred and sixteen years separate Baton Rouge and Shreveport in their dates of origin, these two cities present many similarities. Each is situated on a river with its central business area contiguous to the river bank; each is separated from its adjacent trade area on one side by a river which constitutes the dividing line between two parishes, thus preventing inclusion of that area within its city limits; each city was originally established as a trading post for the Indians and later expanded into a port by new settlers and eventually into a permanent settlement. However, their differences in historical and economic development give each of them a uniqueness and hold special meanings for themselves and for the people of Louisiana.

Historical Background

Baton Rouge

According to the research report of a national publication Baton Rouge has "one of the highest industrial 'growth potentials' in the United States,"[1] Baton Rouge had its beginning as an Indian trading post

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[1] This statement was included in an advertisement which was quoted in a letter dated July 1, 1955 from the Executive offices of Fortune and addressed to the writer.

early in the nation's history.

The colorful name was adopted from the Indian word "Istrouma" meaning "red pole." The French designation, "Baton Rouge," was used when the spot was selected for a permanent settlement.[2] The name was well perpetuated, having been bestowed upon a settlement, a bayou (through Devil's swamp) and two political subdivisions, East and West Baton Rouge Parishes.[3]

Founded by French explorers in 1719, it is believed that Iberville and Bienville first set foot on what came to be known as Garrison Bayou. Baton Rouge was not incorporated until almost a hundred years later, in 1817.[4] In 1846 this city became the state

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[2] Historians have presented two theories of the symbol which inspired the name. The "tree theory" holds that it was a tall weather-roughened cypress, the "pole theory" describes a red pole with fish-heads at the top. The latter theory is supported in published articles by Wm. O. Scroggs, Dean Emeritus of the Graduate School and one time Professor of Economics and Sociology at Louisiana State University, who cites Iberville's diary as his authority. See: "Origin of the Name Baton Rouge," Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge Proceedings 1 (1916-1917), 20-23.

[3] Andrew C. Albrecht, "The Origin and Early Settlement of Baton Rouge, Louisiana," The Southern Historical Quarterly (January, 1945) 28 pp.

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

The Louisiana Legislature passed an act providing that, "All free white male persons above the age of 21 years who are freeholders, householders, or landholders, within the following limits, to-wit: from the mouth of the Bayou at the upper part of the town of Baton Rouge (called Garcia's Bayou) and extending on the main branch of the said bayou to the distance of 40 arpents from the Mississippi, and below commencing at the Mississippi on the town line of land claimed by Madam Marion, and pursuing the direction of said line to the distance of 40 arpents from the Mississippi are hereby authorized to meet and elect five selectment annually."

capital and has continued as such until the present day, with the exception of the 20-year period between 1862 and 1882, during which time both Shreveport and New Orleans served in this capacity.

Located in the south-central section of Louisiana, about 80 miles northwest of the city of New Orleans, Baton Rouge occupies the first highlands above the Gulf of Mexico, on the east bank of the mighty Mississippi River, which has played so important a part in her growth and development. (See Figure 1)

Together with the river, the uplands constitute the most outstanding physiographic feature of the place. They are separated from the bank of the river by a series of so-called "bluffs" which rise abruptly, and thus protect the site against devastating inundations. The average elevation near the center of the site is about 40 feet, but several miles south of the city where the high land begins, the ground rises only a few feet above the floodplain.[5] Large areas of swampland which have now been drained once existed in parts of the city. A number of artificial lakes including Old University Lake, City Park Lake, and New University Lake originated from large areas of swampy ground.

Another prominent feature of the landscape is the straight course followed by the Mississippi River in this particular area. Known as the Baton Rouge Reach, it is about eight miles long. The present

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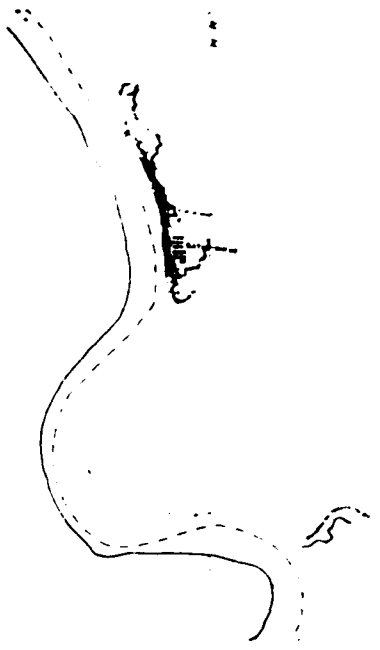
[5] Albrecht, op. cit., p. 4.



RECONNAISSANCE MAP
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
BY
US ARMY ENGINEERS
1821

RECONNAISSANCE MAP
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
BY
US ARMY ENGINEERS
1874

SURVEY MAP
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
BY
MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION
1883

Figure 1. HISTORICAL MAPS OF BATON ROUGE

(SOURCE: MAPS FURNISHED BY CITY OF BATON ROUGE AND LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY)

metropolitan center lies near the middle of the Reach, and the present area extends along its entire length. The city includes all lands lying along the east bank of the Reach.[6] The importance of this physiographic characteristic has been highly significant in the pattern of city growth in the twentieth century.

The river, a half mile wide at the Reach, and its channel some 60 feet below sea level, allows ocean vessels to come to the city at all seasons of the year. Modern docks and terminal facilities have been provided, and several hundred ocean-going tank steamers clear the port each year.

With a mean temperature of 53.0 degrees in January and 81.7 degrees in July, and with a record of 110 degrees at the highest and two degrees at the lowest points, Baton Rouge can be said to enjoy a mild climate. The mean annual precipitation is 58.25, making for uncomfortably high humidity, but also for virtually a continuous growing season.[7]

The early history of Baton Rouge is the early history of the entire surrounding region. The young settlement shared fully in the turbulent days of colonization and of conquest. Nine different flags

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[6] Ibid.

[7] County and City Data Book: 1952 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953) p. 465, Table 4.

have flown over the area, and the cultural impact of these various peoples has left its record in old street and section names, in historic written documents, and in the physical development of the city.

Although by census count the third city in size in the state, Baton Rouge is Louisiana's fastest-growing city. The modern city of Baton Rouge reflects fully the technological and social changes of the twentieth century. Its giant magnolias, picturesque lakes, winding tree-topped drives, imposing governmental and educational buildings still suggest something of the peaceful lethargy of earlier days. Along with these nostalgic features, however, are the throb and hum of new building and renovation, heavy traffic concentrations, and the night sky illumined with the reflection of millions of lights from the great industrial areas. (See Figure 2)

Baton Rouge is the farthest inland deepwater port in the nation, and trades directly with every nation in the world via the seas. The Port of Greater Baton Rouge now in process of development, with deepwater shipping accomodations 230 miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico, on July 25, 1955 opened a grain elevator-dock costing nearly four million dollars. The expanded port will greatly increase the number of cargo vessels putting in at this center at the headwaters of Mississippi deepwater navigation.

Beginning in 1909, when the first oil refinery located at Baton Rouge, the industrial development of the city in the past two decades has become phenomenal for the state of Louisiana. Now boasting the

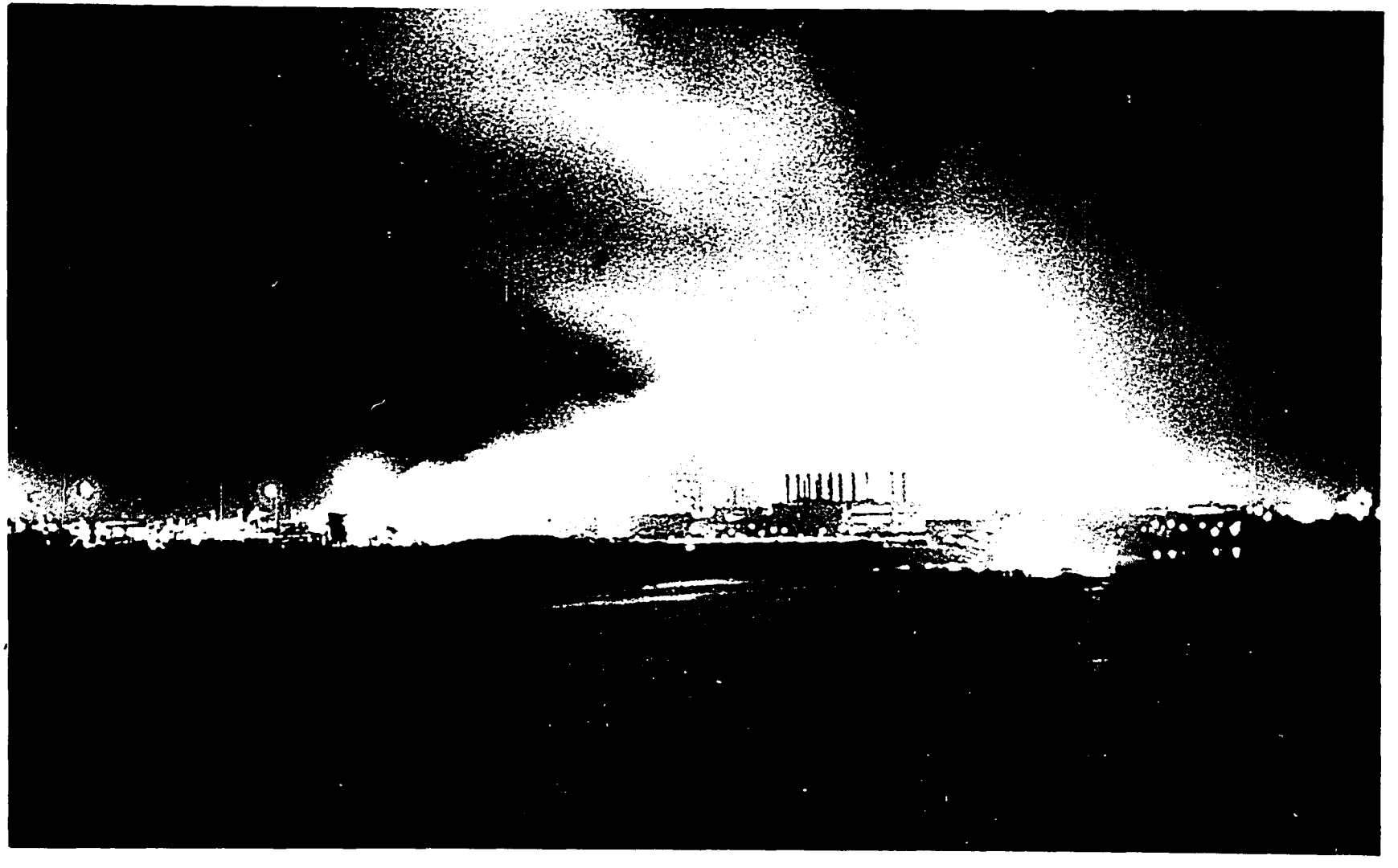

Figure 2. Baton Rouge industrial area at night: 1955. (Photo by A. E. Woolley, Jr.)

largest oil refinery in the world, chemical plants, rubber and aluminum plants, along with numerous other large industries, Baton Rouge is first in the state in point of industrial activity and development. With approximately 125 industries in operation in Baton Rouge[8] the annual earnings per employee in industry was estimated at $5,324 in 1954.

In addition to industry, the city has a great hinterland trade area. Planters and farmers in the rich agricultural areas around Baton Rouge grow heavy annual crops of sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and strawberries. More than ten million dollars worth of strawberries are produced annually in the Baton Rouge trade area.

With all of its added industrial advantages and recent economic development, Baton Rouge has retained its prestige as an educational center. Louisiana State University yearly attracts greater numbers of students from all parts of the nation, as well as foreign students. The seat of government also remains an added distinction of the city and makes a unique contribution to the culture of the area.

If the present trends in industrial expansion persist, and if they are conditioned by intelligent public planning, the future "Red Pole" might well tower over the entire lower Mississippi valley, as its early

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[8] According to the Manufacturers Directory for 1954, published and distributed by the Louisiana State Department of Commerce, there were 168 manufacturing industries in the city of Baton Rouge. The estimate of 125 was made by the Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce.

historians proclaimed. Certainly the city of Baton Rouge is assuming an important place in the emerging industrial development of the Gulf Coast region.

Shreveport

The name "Shreveport" has not quite the flavor of mystery and the romance of historic peoples that envelops the name "Baton Rouge." The city is the namesake of Captain Henry Miller Shreve, river captain, inventor, militarist, and trader, who was given the task of opening the Red River for navigation. The river was jammed with an almost hopelessly interlocked raft of logs and driftwood for a distance of almost 200 miles above the present site of Campti, Louisiana. This centuries-old barrier to navigation and development of the river was known to early explorers and settlers as the "Great Raft." With his commission as Superintendent of Western River Improvement, four steamboats, and 159 men under his command, Captain Shreve began his difficult undertaking in April, 1833.[9] He moved up the river 5 miles the first day; 40 miles in three weeks; and 80 miles, as far as Bennett and Cane's Bluff, within a year. It was 40 years before the "Great Raft" was removed entirely, but the first break in the raft opened the way for the beginning of a flourishing trade along the river.[10]

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[9] The Louisiana Municipal Review, (November-December, 1946) pp. 180-184.

[10] J. Fair Hardin, "An Outline of Shreveport and Caddo Parish History," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly (18 October, 1935).

These events occurred more than a hundred years after the colorful beginnings of the "Red Pole" trading center. Shreveport's settlement and early growth were a part of the entire westward movement and particularly of the increasing stream of migrants who had begun to pass that way after Texas won its independence. Linked more with western and northern neighbors than with the central and southern portions of its own state, Shreveport reflects strongly the cultural impact of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant settlers who moved down from Georgia and the Carolinas. In contrast with Baton Rouge and New Orleans, the French influence is virtually absent. Although retaining much of the architectural grace of the Old South, it bears little resemblance to other Louisiana communities or to any typically southern city. It has been characterized as resembling Dallas more than New Orleans; Denver more than Baton Rouge.

The early influence of Texas upon the city is clearly in evidence. Parallel to Texas Street, which is the main downtown thoroughfare, on one side are Milam and Crockett Streets, and on the other side are Travis and Fannin Streets. The names honor Texas and four of its earliest battle heroes and reflect the early commercial ties with that state. (See Figure 3)

One of the most concise and interesting historical accounts of Shreveport's origin was written by the Honorable A. Currie, Mayor of

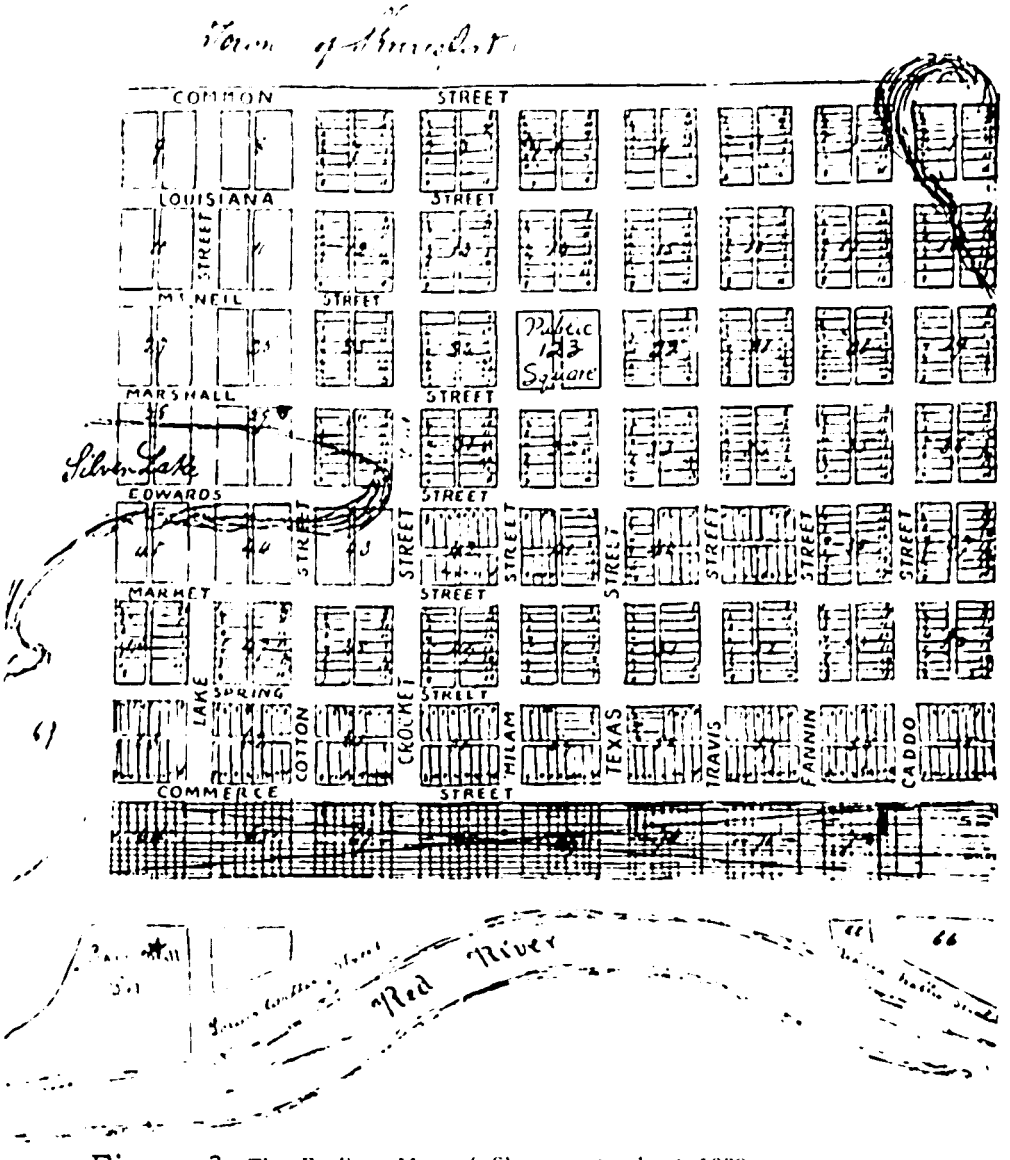

Figure 3. The Earliest Map of Shreveport, about 1839.
(SOURCE: Original in Office Clerk District Court)

Shreveport in 1880, and presented in the Federal Census of that year.[11]

Following are excerpts from that historical sketch:

> The original area and town site of Shreveport is a section of land (640 acres) reserved by the Caddo Indians, the original proprietors, and donated to Larkin Edwards, a friendly white man, who had lived among them for several years, and to whom they were very much attached and indebted for services rendered them in their intercourse with the frontier people of Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, also with governmental authorities. The treaty granting their lands to the government was entered into before the year 1835, although they were still roaming the forest; and one of its articles seems to have stipulated that Edwards was given the privilege of locating his claim at any point of the lands vacated. He selected what was then known as Cane and Bennett's Bluff. A substantial log house decorated the site, which was then very probably a trading-post. A few additional log dwellings were erected in 1835. ---
>
> On January 24, 1835, Edwards sold his floating claim to Angus McNeil for the sum of $5,000. In July, 1835, Jehian Brooks, acting for the government, formally ratified the claim, and his act was subsequently confirmed by a decree of the Supreme Court of the United States. The act of conveyance was soon afterward completed, acknowledged, and accepted. ---
>
> By an act dated May 27, 1836, Captain Henry M. Shreve, of Kentucky, James B. Pickett, of South Carolina, Thomas T. Williamson, of Arkansas, Sturgis Sprague, of Mississippi, Bushrod Jenkins, and the commercial firm of Cane & Bennett, of Natchitoches, Louisiana, became associated with McNeil in the

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[11] Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1880, Social Statistics of Cities (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1887) Part II, pp. 296-300.

> Edwards claim, "share and share alike," for the sum of $4,166.66-2/3, the members binding themselves to select a lot and build a dwelling on the same. These gentlemen soon formed an organization called the "Shreve Town Company," naming the place after Captain Shreve. Angus McNeil, the original proprietor, was chosen president. That portion of the site extending from the river to the highlands, bounded in the southwest by Common Street, was subdivided into blocks, streets, and alleys, regularly numbered, named, and mapped out. The principal thoroughfare was named Texas Street, after the neighboring republic of Texas, and its extension, as the town grew into a city, was called Texas Avenue.

On the 20th of March, 1839, the legislature of Louisiana granted a charter to the town which they named "Shreveport," and, according to Mayor Currie, at the same time made it "A seat of justice" for the newly formed Caddo Parish. Until this time Shreve Town had been located in Natchitoches Parish which included the entire Northwestern portion of the state. The power of taxation was granted to the young town, but the gross amount to be collected yearly was limited to $1,000.

Comments by Shreveport's 1880 mayor reveal the type of early inhabitants of the young Red River settlement:

> The country adjacent was rapidly settled by thrifty and experienced planters from the older states, who brought a large number of slaves with them. The city itself, being at the head of low-water navigation on Red River, became the entrepot of the inhabitants, not alone of northwest Louisiana, but also of southwest Arkansas and of eastern Texas.

Several bouts with yellow fever were interspersed with the

other struggles of Shreveport in the nineteenth century. Says Currie:

> In 1843 a very malignant type of yellow fever spread from New Orleans up the Red River Valley and seized upon Shreveport, which had the effect of checking the rapidity of its growth for a short time. In a few years, however, all traces of its effect disappeared.
>
> In the summer of 1867 the yellow fever again invaded the Red River Valley from New Orleans, and broke out in Shreveport in a mild form. It was chiefly noted for the long period it continued to manifest its presence; some citizens returning to their homes long after heavy frost and cold weather had set in became infected.

Shreveport is situated in the extreme northwest corner of Louisiana in Caddo Parish, on the Red River, 500 miles above its mouth. It is 60 miles below the point where the Great Raft was finally removed in 1876, and is 740 miles by water from New Orleans. It means height above the sea level is about 200 feet. It ranges from an altitude of 180 feet above sea level in the Broadmoor area to 200 and 276 feet in the Fairfield and Highland sections.[12]

The mean temperature for January is 47.7 degrees (7.3 degrees colder than the Baton Rouge mean) and 83.1 degrees for July (1.4 degrees warmer than the Baton Rouge mean). The highest record temperature is 110 degrees, which is the same as that for Baton Rouge, but the lowest record temperature is 5 degrees, or 7 degrees colder than

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[12] Lilla McLure and J. Ed. Howe, History of Shreveport and Shreveport Builders (Shreveport: J. Ed. Howe, 1937) p. 8.

the lowest record temperature in Baton Rouge.[13]

Shreveport in 1955 bears little resemblance to the struggling young town described by Mayor Currie in 1880. It lies within one of the richest oil and gas producing areas in the nation.[14] The alluvial bottom lands of the Red River which stretch from within sight of the downtown area for miles around the city, form the nucleus of extensive and profitable cotton, grain and cattle industries. The millions of acres of forest lands in Caddo, Bossier and nearby parishes support a major lumber, pulp, and paper industry.

The city of Shreveport is the trade center for a large area comprising parts of eastern Texas, southwestern Arkansas and northwestern Louisiana. It is located centrally with respect to the growing markets of the Central South and Southwest, with most of the principal cities of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas lying within a radius of 300 miles. The Louisiana Directory of Manufacturers lists 177 industries for Shreveport in 1954. Already the center of the oil and gas industry, the industrial development of Shreveport is becoming widely diversified.

Undergoing a continuous "change of face" through street-widening, construction of expressway thoroughfares that facilitate

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[13] County and City Data Book: 1952 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953) p. 465, Table 4.

[14] Approximately 50,000 oil and gas wells are now in operation in the Ark-La-Tex area, of which Shreveport is the center.

traffic flow, and increasing building in downtown Shreveport, the city is acquiring an air of metropolitan sophistication. One new office building is under construction which will be twenty stories in height and others are in the planning stage. The skyline silhouette reveals the beginning contour pattern of the modern big city. (See Figure 4)

Ecological Development

The location of population areas within a city depends upon a variety of influences, according to the size and primary functions of each urban area. The impersonal sorting of urban populations tends to force people of lower incomes to locate in less desirable sections of the city, in slum areas, near factories and warehouses, or near routes of heavy transportation. Such population segments as minority groups, transients, and other low-income classes, tend to become segregated in specific areas, as do those requiring "better housing." Such residential sections become established and persist, thereafter tending to attract more residents of the same social and economic levels.

Growth of cities, according to Lynch, must occur by growing within, or by annual accretion, like the growth of rings of a tree.[15] Attempts have been made to describe the locations and shapes of

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[15] Kevin Lynch, "Form of Cities," Scientific American, (April, 1954) 190: 54-63.

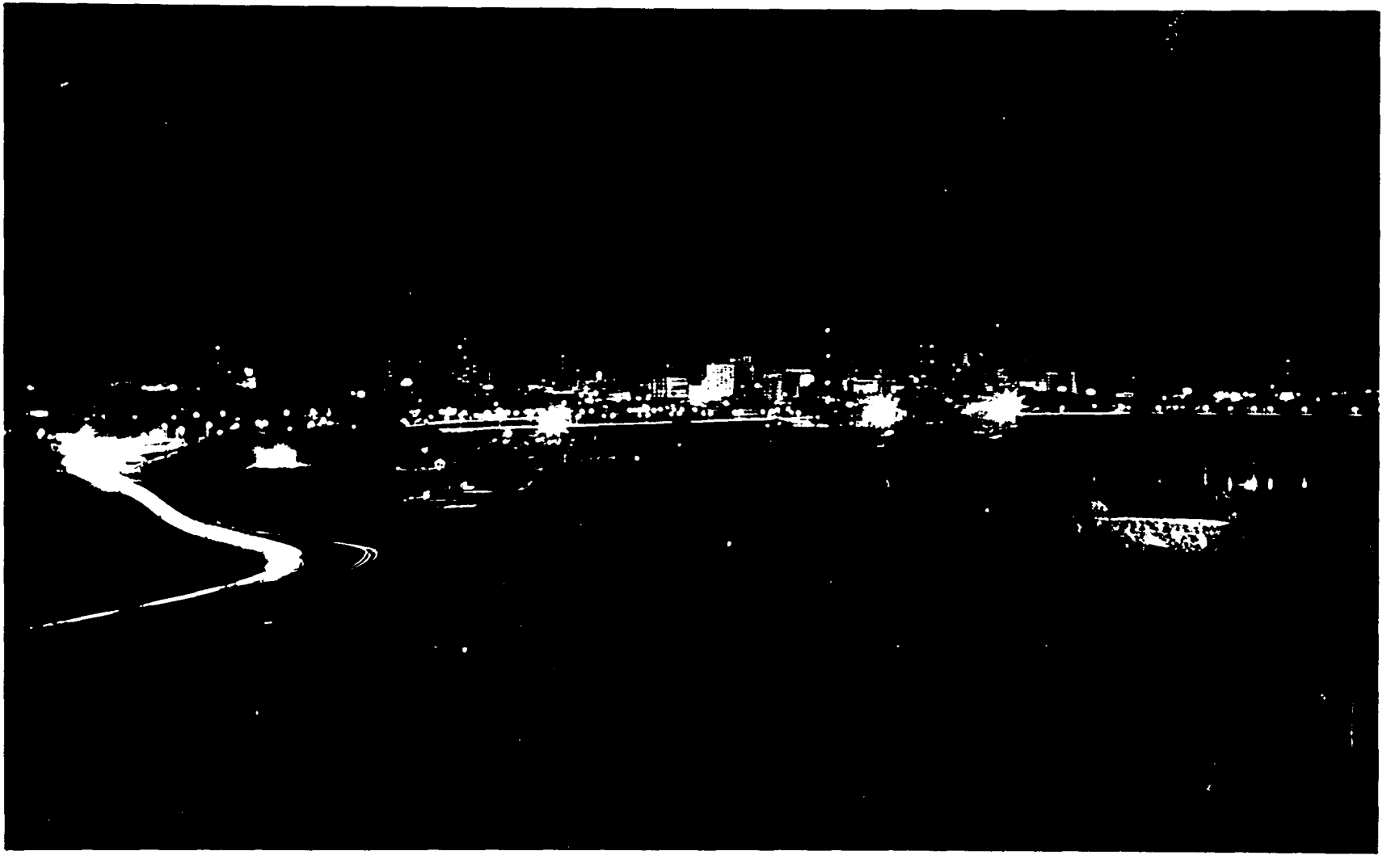

Figure 4. Shreveport's skyline at night: 1955. (Photo by Thurman C. Smith)

residential areas of the city as ideal spatial patterns.[16] The best known of these attempts, the concentric-zone hypothesis of Burgess,[17] pictures certain types of population areas as having typical locations in respective zones, forming in circles outward from the central business district. Surrounding the central dominant commercial area is the deteriorated transitional zone. The next two zones house areas differentiated by occupation and income, with the higher-income groups farthest out from the central business district. The outlying commuter's zone includes a variety of more or less differentiated areas.

A second general explanation, by Hoyt,[18] known as the sector theory, attempts to explain the growth pattern as the city expands rather than the original location of population areas. This theory also sorts people into income categories. A third general description, called the multiple nuclei or neighborhood cluster pattern, assumes that areas of commercial and industrial dominance become centers of population

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[16] For a brief description of such ideal patterns, see Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLII (November 1945), 7-17. Reprinted in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., ed., Reader in Urban Sociology (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951) pp. 222-232.

[17] Ernest W. Burgess, "Urban Areas" in Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research, ed. T. V. Smith and L. D. White (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

[18] Homer Hoyt, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1939) p. 96.

distribution.[19]

Each of these generalized descriptions has some value in interpreting the spatial patterning of the population of a metropolis, but none of them alone, (nor a combination of all of them), provides an adequate explanation of all of the locations in such areas. These typical patterns may describe the expansion of some areas in a city, but they fail to account for those developments which do not fit any of the descriptions. Factors of population composition, differences in specialized functions, topography, and seemingly fortuitous circumstances influence the actual locations of residential areas.[20]

Demerath and Gilmore point out that Southern cities have unique characteristics and special functions, i.e., they are usually small retail trade and market centers, and the population is bi-racial.[21] The two cities which are the subject of this analysis probably can be roughly classified as falling into this category. Categorized according to metropolitan function[22] they are both "subdominants," which means that among

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[19] James A. Quinn, Urban Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1955) p. 117.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Nicholas J. Demerath and Harlan W. Gilmore, "The Ecology of Southern Cities," in Vance and Demerath, ibid., p. 136.

[22] Rupert B. Vance and Sara Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration," in Vance and Demerath, ibid., p. 128.

southern cities of 100,000 population, they are just beginning to achieve some metropolitan stature. Increased transportation facilities have been highly significant influences in the spatial distribution of both of these populations.

Baton Rouge

For over a century Baton Rouge was merely a village clustered around a fort.[23] This early settlement later determined the central business district. The streets, which were narrow by modern standards, became permanent main thoroughfares. When it expanded, the additions were not according to any plan. This haphazard development has led to many serious problems in meeting modern needs for traffic lanes and functional structures. The streets are short, with frequent "dead ends" and they do not follow the rectangular, or any other continuous, pattern. Actually, the beginning of the real growth and expansion of the town of Baton Rouge occurred in the early years of the twentieth century. During the first four decades after 1900 the population was trebled. As business grew the residential areas were pushed farther and farther out from the downtown section. The establishment of a big industrial area north of the city resulted in marked increases in the population of

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[23] Louisiana, A Guide to the State (New York: Hastings House, 1935) p. 252.

Istrouma, where primarily the industrial workers lived.

In the decade before 1950, many subdivisions were built outside the city limits, resulting in a tremendously populous urban fringe area which was functionally a part of the city's socio-economic area. The sections around the central business district could well be classified as "areas in transition." Commercial housing gradually pushed in on the older residents, who in turn sold their property and moved to outer unsettled areas. Thus the concentric zone theory is applicable, in part, during this growth period in Baton Rouge. However, the river was a barrier on the west, and to the south lay the low swamp areas. Also, the many bayous that cut through the locality handicapped any systematic pattern of residential expansion.

In January, 1949, the land area of Baton Rouge was increased about eight times in size by extension of the city limits, from 3.8 square miles to 30.2 square miles. This was the most significant change in the land area in the city's history. It represented the inclusion within the legal limits of the city the area and the residents which had long been both socially and economically identified with Baton Rouge. The urban center which was already functioning as a unit thus became recognized as a rapidly growing city of over 100,000 population (Figure 5).

The bi-racial housing problem in Baton Rouge has not been as clear-cut as that in other Southern cities. The Negroes in this city have not been definitely segregated in large, distinct areas, nor living in

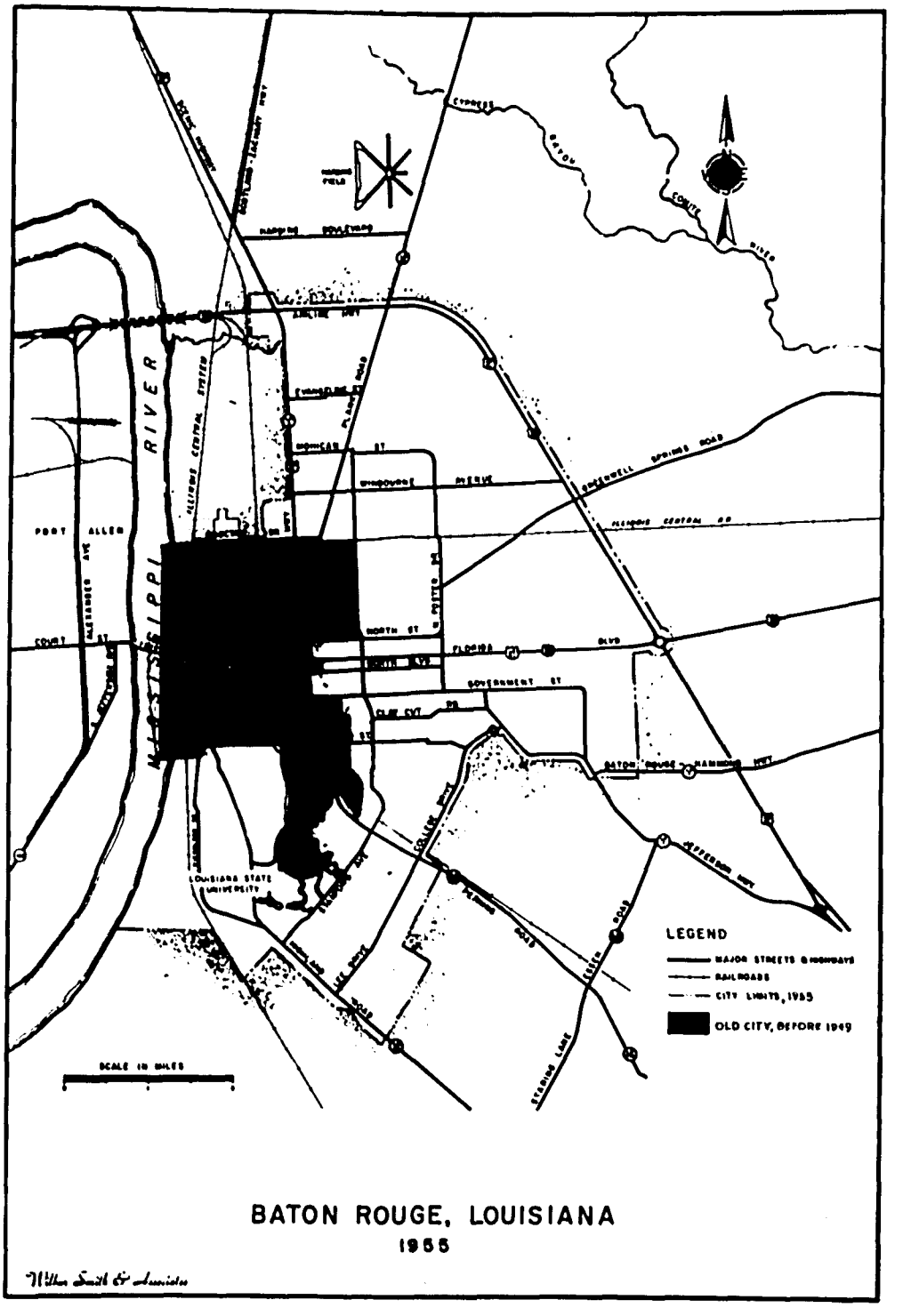

Figure 5. Expansion of city of Baton Rouge by incorporation: 1949-1953.
(Source: City Parish Planning Commission)

seriously over-crowded conditions. They are housed largely in sub-standard dwellings, and in disadvantaged areas, but on the whole they are not separated from the central city by great distances nor deprived of sanitary facilities. In the present new building program it is probable that their living areas will become more desirable.

The subdivisions in Baton Rouge are indicated in Figure 6. On the whole, the higher income groups in Baton Rouge live in the southern part of the city around the University lakes. Many pretentious homes are also found along Highland Road, the old Jefferson Highway, Foster Drive, and the old boulevards of the city. Often a lone family mansion remains standing in the midst of a development of newly-built homes. Upper middle-class housing is found in Goodwood, in College Town, University Gardens, University Acres, Broadmoor and in the immediately surrounding areas. Homes of the industrial workers, and those of lower socio-economic levels are located largely in North Baton Rouge in the Istrouma community. The substandard and slum dwellings are found in the areas of transition, as indicated above.

The "string-along" housing areas on Florida Street, the Airline, Hammond Highway, and other main travel routes suggest the radial or axial growth pattern which has become common during the era of urban expansion characterizing modern America. In Baton Rouge, city planning and zoning will henceforth influence the type of building according to location. The days of haphazard development in the city are largely in the past. It seems likely that industrial planners will share equally with

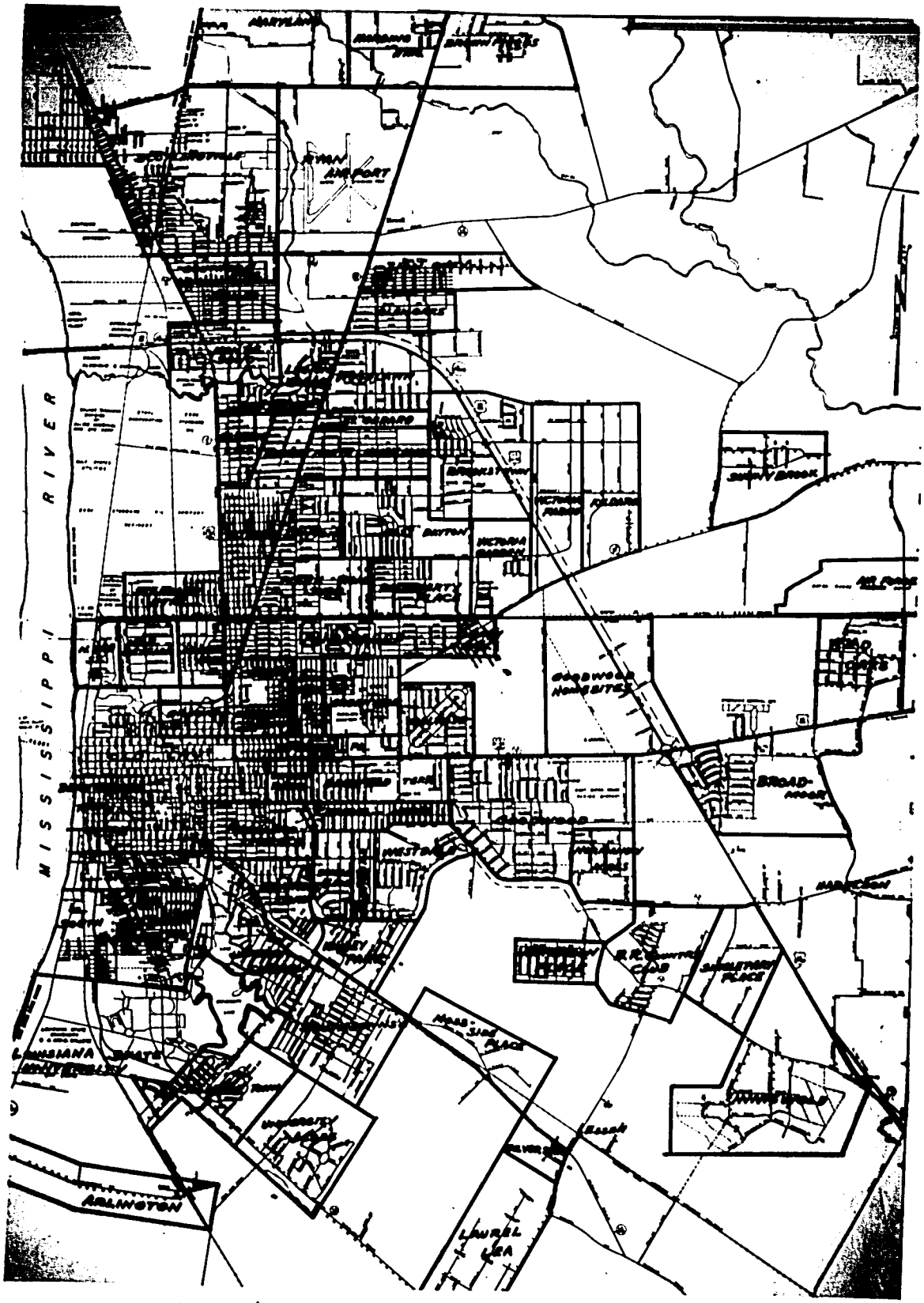

Figure 6. Subdivisions of Baton Rouge, 1955.
(Source: E. R. Nilson Map Service, Baton Rouge)

real estate interests and official public planners in shaping the future pattern of urban residential distribution. (See Figure 7)

Shreveport

In the very early days, when Shreveport was a small river town with only water transportation readily available, the roads and trails leading from the river at the point of the central business area sought the higher levels along the crest of the hills. These original travel routes eventually became the principal streets, with side streets radiating out from the main arteries. Thus the unstudied arrangement of Shreveport's streets is evident today. For example, it is very difficult to travel in an east-west direction without interruption. Many streets, interrupted by parks or building areas, begin again several blocks distant. All of these problems attest to the former lack of general planning.

The growth of the city by expansion of boundaries is shown in Figure 8. The concentric-zone pattern is traceable in downtown Shreveport, but in a semi-circular fashion, since the Red River and Bossier City from a definite barrier on the east. Next to the central business district on the north and along the river bank is an unmistakable "area in transition." On Travis and Fannin Streets, where once the finest homes stood, are now commercial structures or low-rent rooming houses. Extending to the very edge of the downtown shopping

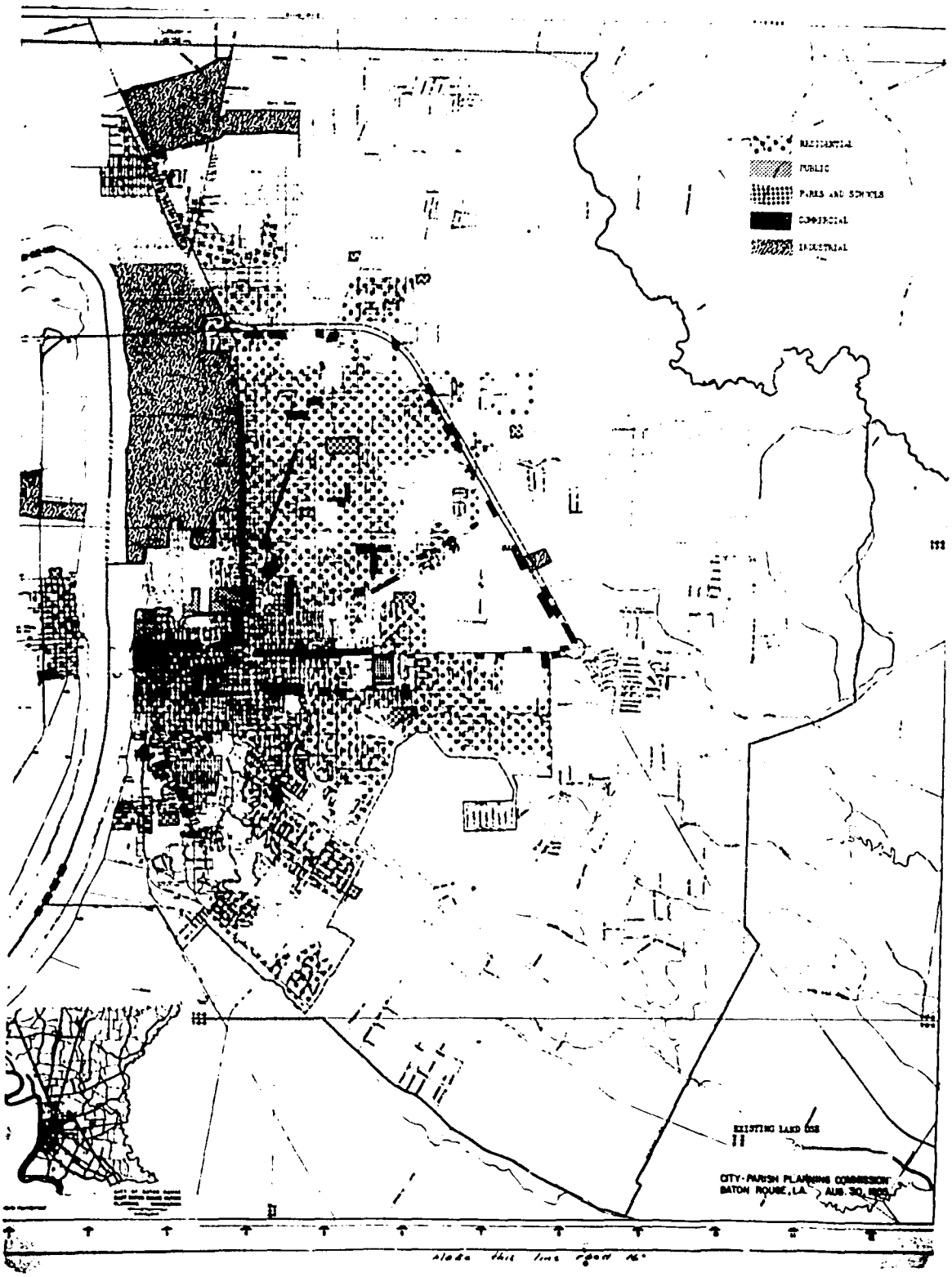

Figure 7. Land Use Map of Baton Rouge: 1954.
(Source: Architectural Engineering Department,
Louisiana State University)

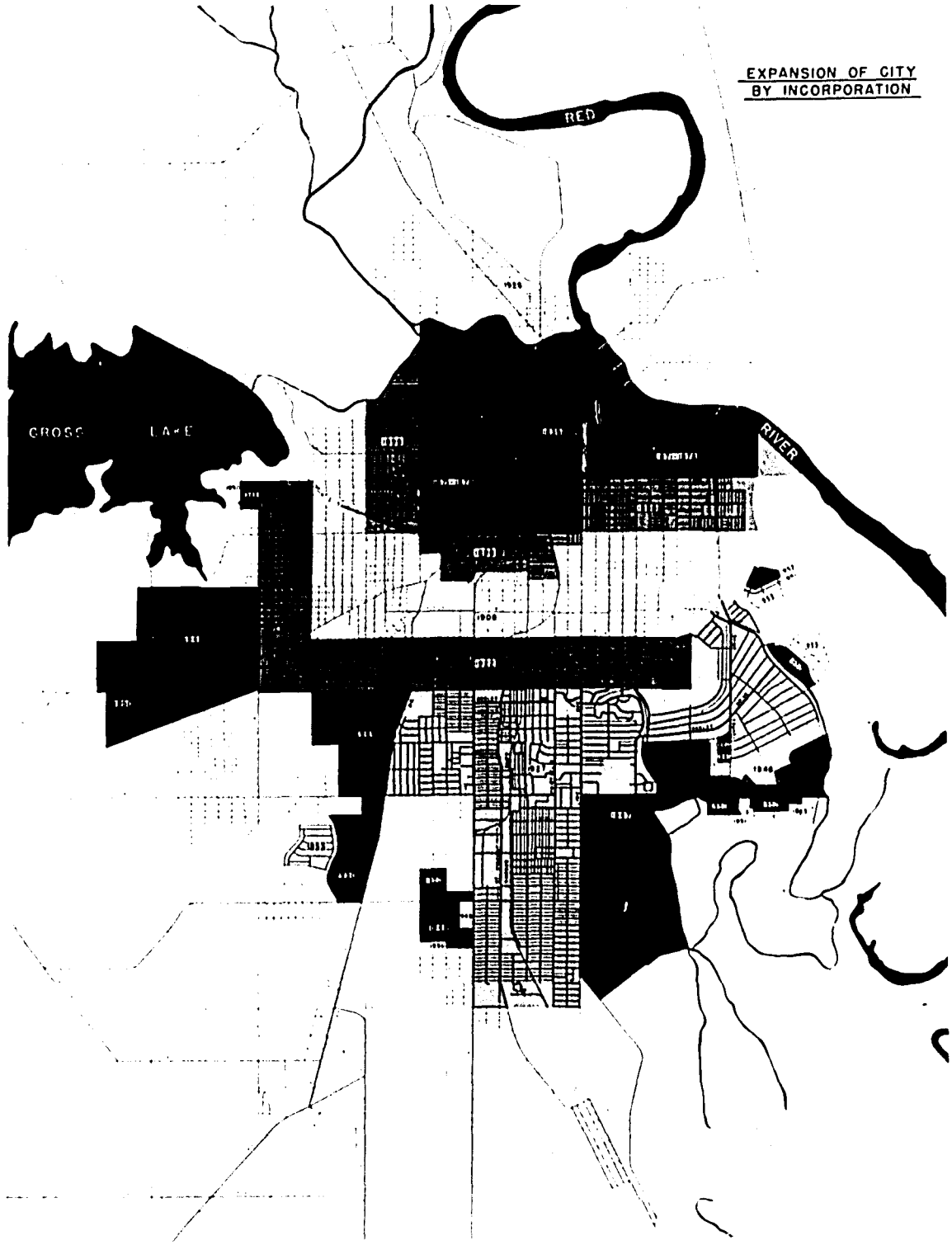

Figure 8. Expansion of Shreveport by incorporation, 1839-1953. (Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant).

center is a poor-grade Negro housing area which connects with other low-income Negro housing some miles out, in Allendale community.[24] This extension resembles the sector pattern advanced by Hoyt.

The high-income housing is almost entirely located in South Shreveport, in the South Highlands and the Pierremont neighborhoods. Because of certain barriers this was the logical direction for persons seeking better home sites to choose. The topography provides rolling, tree-covered hills, while in the other directions, to the east is the river and to the west and northwest is a large industrial area. (Figure 9)

The lower-upper and upper-middle income groups are housed in the southeastern part of the city, in the Broadmoor and Shreve Island neighborhoods. All of these homes are occupied by their owners, and were built according to specified price restrictions.

In the northeastern section, adjacent to the factories and shops, are the workingmen's homes. In Queensborough, Lakeside, and Lakeview, lower-middle income families own their homes, and take pride in being law-abiding and church-going people. This is a heavily populated section, but in no way a disadvantaged or "problem" neighborhood. Another extensive low-income housing area is in south Shreveport in the Cedar Grove community. This is one of the largest low-rent neighborhoods for whites, and it also contains a large Negro section.

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[24] A recent rehabilitation program for 32 slum areas in Shreveport which was submitted by a professional city planning consultant was reported in The Shreveport Times, August 23, 1955.

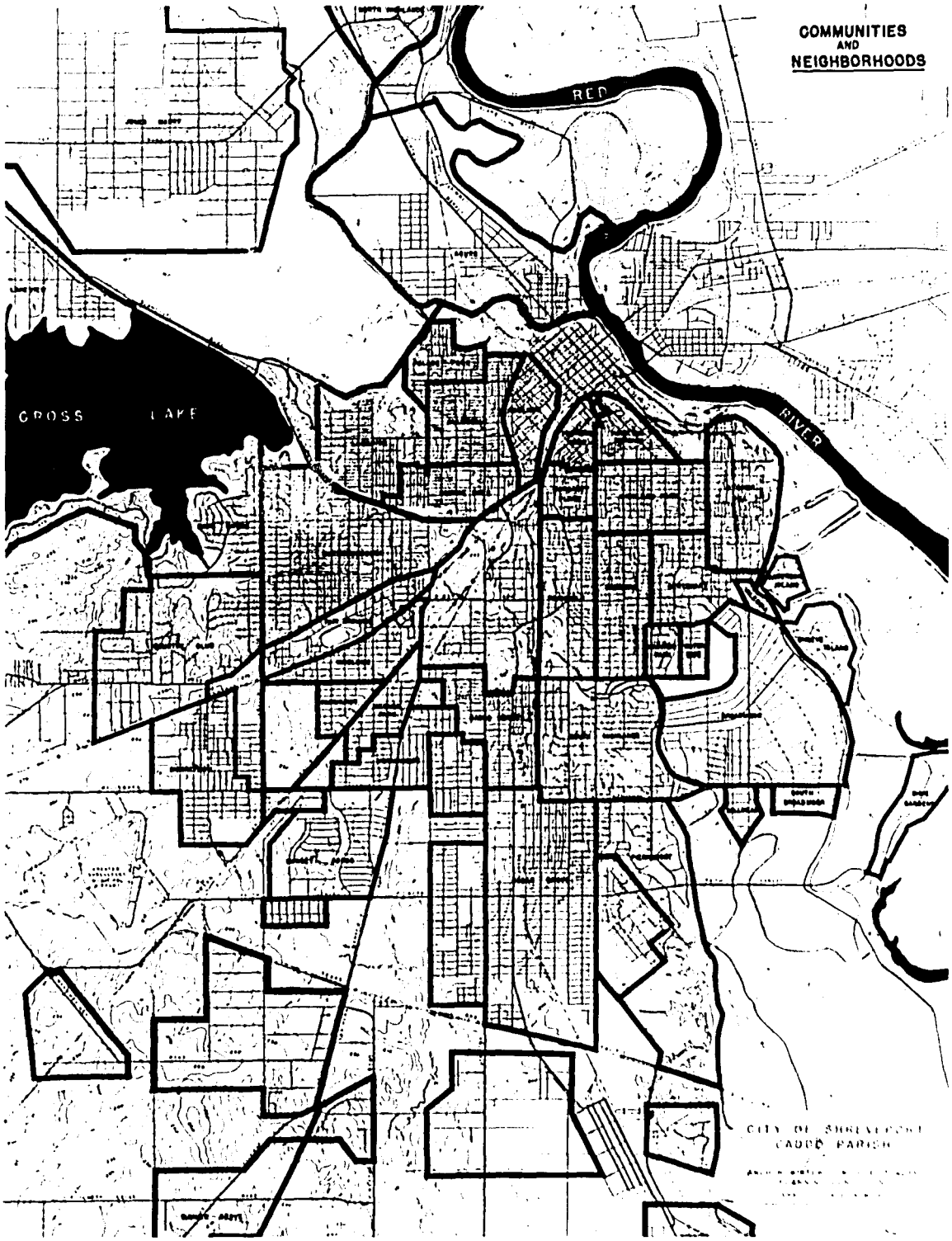

Figure 9. Subdivisions of Shreveport: 1953.
(Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant).

Like Baton Rouge, Shreveport has been undergoing extensive street-widening and general "face-lifting." The City Planning Commission has long controlled new building through zoning ordinances. An overall plan to facilitate traffic flow and to accommodate the increasing business and residential housing needs is being put into operation at present. (See Figure 10)

General Trends

There is evidence that Baton Rouge and Shreveport generally conform to the same patterns of urban ecology as other American cities. They have their delinquency and slum areas and their "gold coasts." There are areas of new and expensive homes, areas of second-class homes, and areas of "problem housing" where the dwellings are in a very poor state of repair.

Each of these cities is showing the effects of industrialization in the growing heterogeneity of occupational specialization. Because of improved transportation facilities and economic prosperity, many persons in the upper socio-economic classes are moving out to the city's periphery, often settling in fringe areas that previously accommodated low-income or Negro groups.

The pattern of expansion is no longer primarily a matter of fortuitous circumstance. These two metropolitan areas have carefully

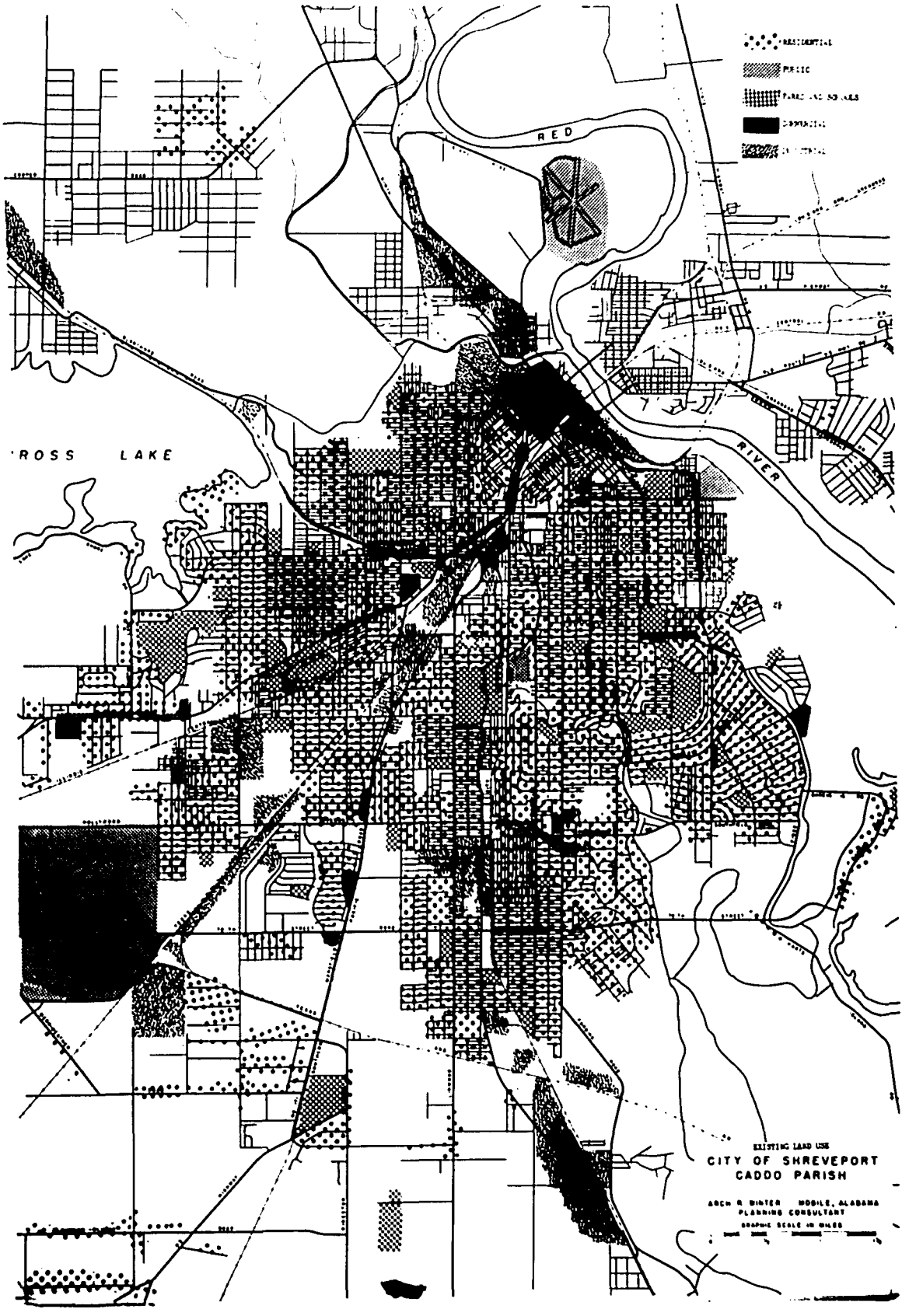

Figure 10. Land Use Map of Shreveport: 1953.
(Source: Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant)

organized groups of experts to survey their needs and make recommendations for the future development. Therefore, to some extent the future growth pattern will be the result of deliberate planning.

Other factors will continue to be important, however. The types of industrial and commercial development, as well as types and trends in migration, will inevitably influence the future ecological development in these two cities.

CHAPTER IV

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The number of people and their spatial distribution constitute one of the most fundamental aspects of a population. There is a direct relationship between the size of population and the land resources available for exploitation. The availability of resources and the extent to which they may be utilized bear directly upon the material level of living of a people.

Generally speaking, attention has been primarily centered upon the great concentrations of people in cities. Urban centers have undergone tremendous population growth in the last few centuries. With the expansion of modern urban populations the necessity for some sort of urban planning has become most urgent. Demographic facts relative to the number and distribution of people in the cities is a prerequisite to any such planning. This chapter presents such information as is available for Baton Rouge and Shreveport. While fairly complete and reliable data on the sizes of the two urban centers are provided by the census, the material on the distribution of population within and around these two cities is sketchy and fragmentary. Some generalizations regarding this distribution can, however, be ventured.

Definition of Terms

According to the old definition of residence used in the 1940 federal census, the urban population is limited to all persons living in incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more and in areas (usually minor civil divisions) classified as urban under special rules relating to population size and density.[1] In both the old and the new definition adopted in 1950 the most important component of the urban territory is the group of incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more.

With the 1950 Census several new definitions were introduced. Clarification of these terms is advisable at this point, since reference will be made to them throughout the analysis. The data for city areas are available in the latest decennial census according to three classifications: standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places.[2]

The newly designated standard metropolitan area, except in New England, consists of a county, or group of contiguous counties, which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more. This

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[1] United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), p. v.

[2] Definitions of these classifications taken from United States Census of Population: 1950, ibid., pp. v, vi.

classification considers as a unit the entire population, in and around the city, whose activities form an integrated social and economic system. The Baton Rouge standard metropolitan area consists of the entire parish of East Baton Rouge. The Shreveport standard metropolitan area embraces all of Caddo Parish. (See Figure II).

The urbanized area has been delineated to provide a better separation of urban and rural population in the vicinity of large cities. In 1950 all persons living within urbanized areas are classed as part of the urban population. The urbanized area contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more and the closely surrounding "urban fringe." It is usually the thickly settled core of a standard metropolitan area. The Baton Rouge and Shreveport urbanized areas, together with the population, are designated in Table I.

According to the 1950 Census, "Only incorporated places (cities, villages, boroughs, and in some states, towns) of 2,500 or more (and unincorporated places of this size outside urban fringes) are called urban places."[3] In this analysis, we will refer to the city itself, within its legal boundaries, as the urban place.

The task of census enumeration is accomplished through direct interviews with people, in which a count is taken to determine the exact number of persons residing in a specific area. There are

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[3] Ibid., p. v.

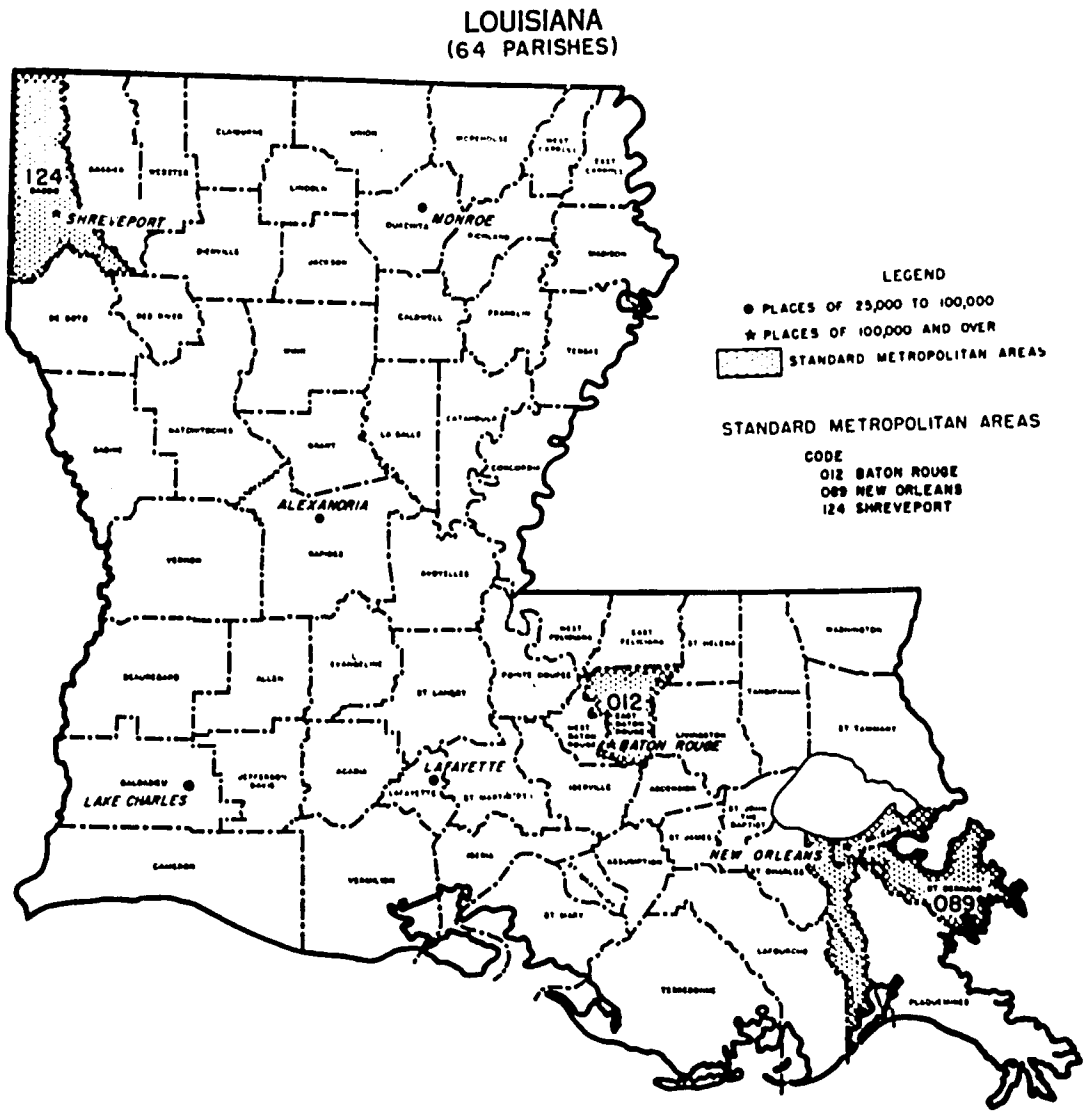

Figure 11. Standard metropolitan areas, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(Source: United States Census of Population: 1950)

TABLE I

POPULATION OF BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT URBANIZED AREAS: 1950*

Baton Rouge		Shreveport	
Area	Population	Area	Population
Baton Rouge city	125,629	Shreveport city	127,206
Outside city	13,235	Outside city	23,002
Minor civil divisions and parts of minor civil divisions:		Parts of minor civil divisions:	
		Bossier Parish (part)	16,779
East Baton Rouge Parish (part)	135,767		
		Police Jury Ward I (part)	251
Police Jury Ward I	125,629		
		Bossier City town (part)	251
Baton Rouge city	125,629		
		Police Jury Ward 2 (part)	16,528
Police Jury Ward 2	10,138		
		Bossier City town (part)	15,219
West Baton Rouge Parish (part)	3,097		
		Caddo Parish (part)	133,429
Police Jury Ward 3 (part)	3,097		
		Police Jury Ward 4	133,429
Port Allen town	3,097		
		Shreveport city	127,206

*Source: United States Census of Population, Bulletin P-A18, Louisiana: Number of Inhabitants (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. 15, Table 9.

two basic approaches to this problem. One method of enumeration includes all of those people who are physically present in a given area at a given point of time (the date of the census). The English use this system and arrive at what is called the de facto population. The other method holds that only the persons having their usual place of residence in an area should be included in the count for that specific area. This practice has been followed by the United States in making the official census since 1890, and it determines the so-called de jure population. It is conceded by many authorities in the field that the de facto concept is by far the more practical one to use in a highly mobile and highly atomized society such as ours.[4]

The density of population is an important indication of the living conditions of an aggregate. The land area containing a group of people is less likely to fluctuate than is the population. When both are known it is possible to obtain the ratio of the population to the land area. The computation consists of dividing the number of people occupying the geographical unit by the land area of the unit. The resulting ratio, expressed in square miles, is a useful measure of population density and may be interpreted as the average number of inhabitants residing in each square mile of the given area. This measure provides an excellent basis for comparing densities of

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[4] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis)New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948) p. 8.

different geographical areas.[5]

The Data

Although the first official United States government census was published in 1790, and Louisiana was admitted as a state in 1814, it was not until 1840 that definite census records were obtainable for Baton Rouge, and 1850 for Shreveport.

The data utilized in this chapter were secured from three main sources: (1) the Seventeenth Decennial Census; (2) the City-Parish Planning Commission and the Chamber of Commerce in Baton Rouge; and (3) the City Planning Commission in Shreveport. As in the entire analysis, the census materials comprise the major source of data.

For Baton Rouge and Shreveport census data are available for total populations from 1840 to 1950 and from 1850 to 1950, respectively. Data classified according to standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places are based largely on the new census definitions, but in some cases the 1940 definitions are used. When old definitions are used, that fact will be indicated.

The limitations in the data relative to this analysis are due to the change in size of Baton Rouge between the years of 1940 and

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[5] Ibid., p. 9.

1950. Rapid growth placed this city in the 100,000 population class for 1950 whereas it was in the 25,000 to 50,000 class in 1940. Therefore, the data for the two urban places of Baton Rouge and Shreveport are not comparable except for 1950. Another handicap in determining accurate distribution of the population within each city is due to the lack of official enumeration by census tracts. The figures were available locally in Baton Rouge and Shreveport by enumeration districts, but a similar breakdown was not obtainable in the census publications. Also, census data for detailed characteristics are given for standard metropolitan areas only, as a rule.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

On April 1, 1950, among cities having 25,000 or more population, Shreveport ranked eightieth in size in the nation and Baton Rouge ranked eighty-first.[6] In the state of Louisiana, these two cities had long maintained the respective positions of second and third place in population size. Shreveport came second, after New Orleans, and Baton Rouge ranked third. Although these positions of respective rank had been the same for many years before 1950 there was a wide divergence in actual population size between these two Louisiana cities.

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[6] County and City Data Book: 1952, op. cit., p. 458, Table 4.

At the time of the Seventeenth Decennial Census the population of Baton Rouge was 138,864 in the urbanized area (see Figure 12), but the city proper contained only 125,629. This indicates that the urban fringe had 13,235 inhabitants which is more than one-third of the number comprising the total population of Baton Rouge (34,719) in 1940. This fact is highly significant in pointing up the rapid rate of increase in Baton Rouge's growth. Special attention was given to Baton Rouge in the 1950 Census because it was the fastest growing city in the United States in its population class during the period between 1940 and 1950. The per cent of increase in population in that decade was 261.8, a remarkable record. The Baton Rouge land area was significantly different at the period of the Sixteenth Decennial Census from that of the Seventeenth, having been considerably extended in 1949. On January 1, 1949, the corporate limits of Baton Rouge were extended from 3.8 square miles to include 30.2 square miles which resulted in a tremendous change from 34,719 to 125,629 in population figures for that city.

In 1950 the Shreveport urbanized area contained 150,208 inhabitants and the principal city 127,206, (Table I and Figure 13). Therefore, Shreveport's urban fringe provided the impressive number of 23,002 persons. This amounts to more than one-fifth of the number of the city's total population, and equals approximately one-fourth of the population of Shreveport in 1940 (98,167). Since

LOUISIANA

BATON ROUGE URBANIZED AREA

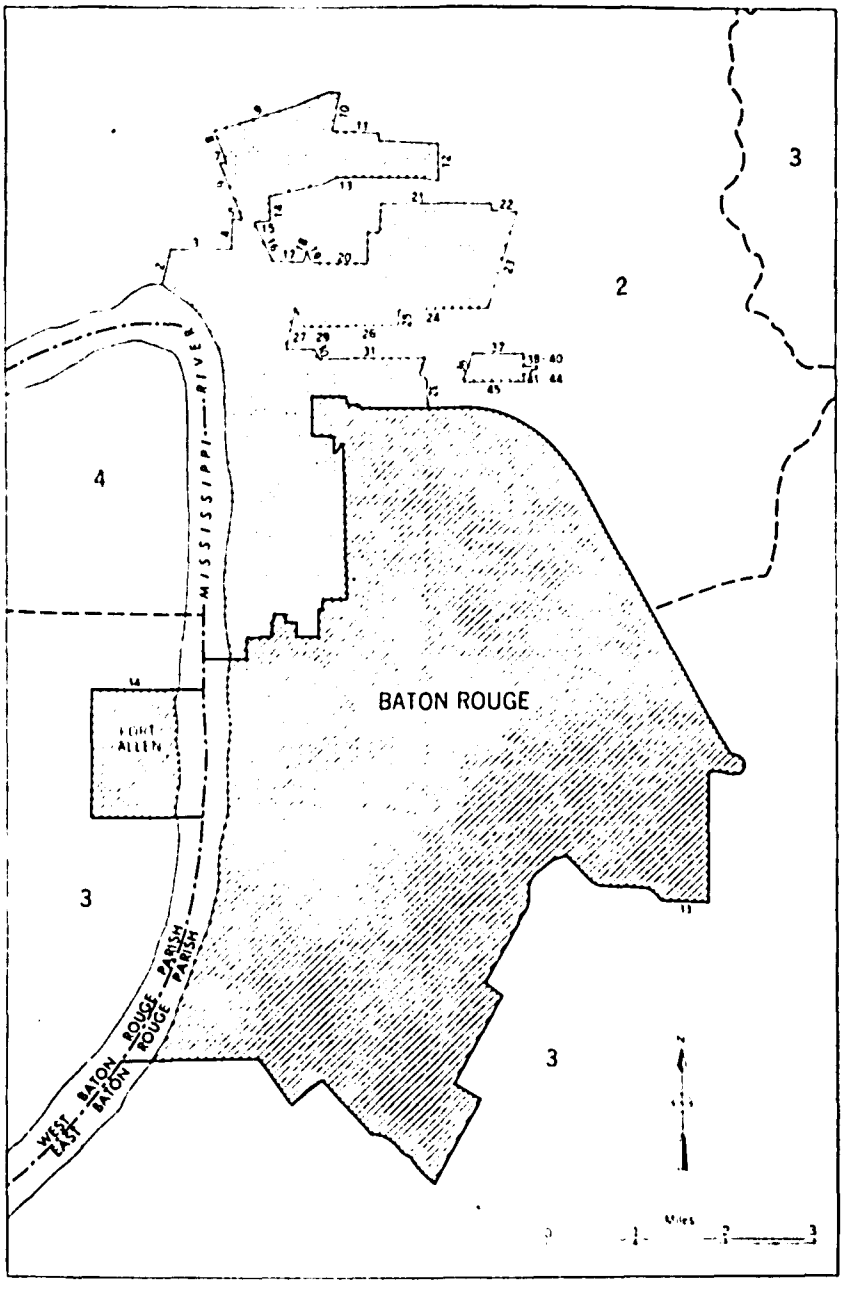

Figure 12. Baton Rouge urbanized area: 1950. (Source: United States Census of Population: 1950)

LOUISIANA

SHREVEPORT URBANIZED AREA

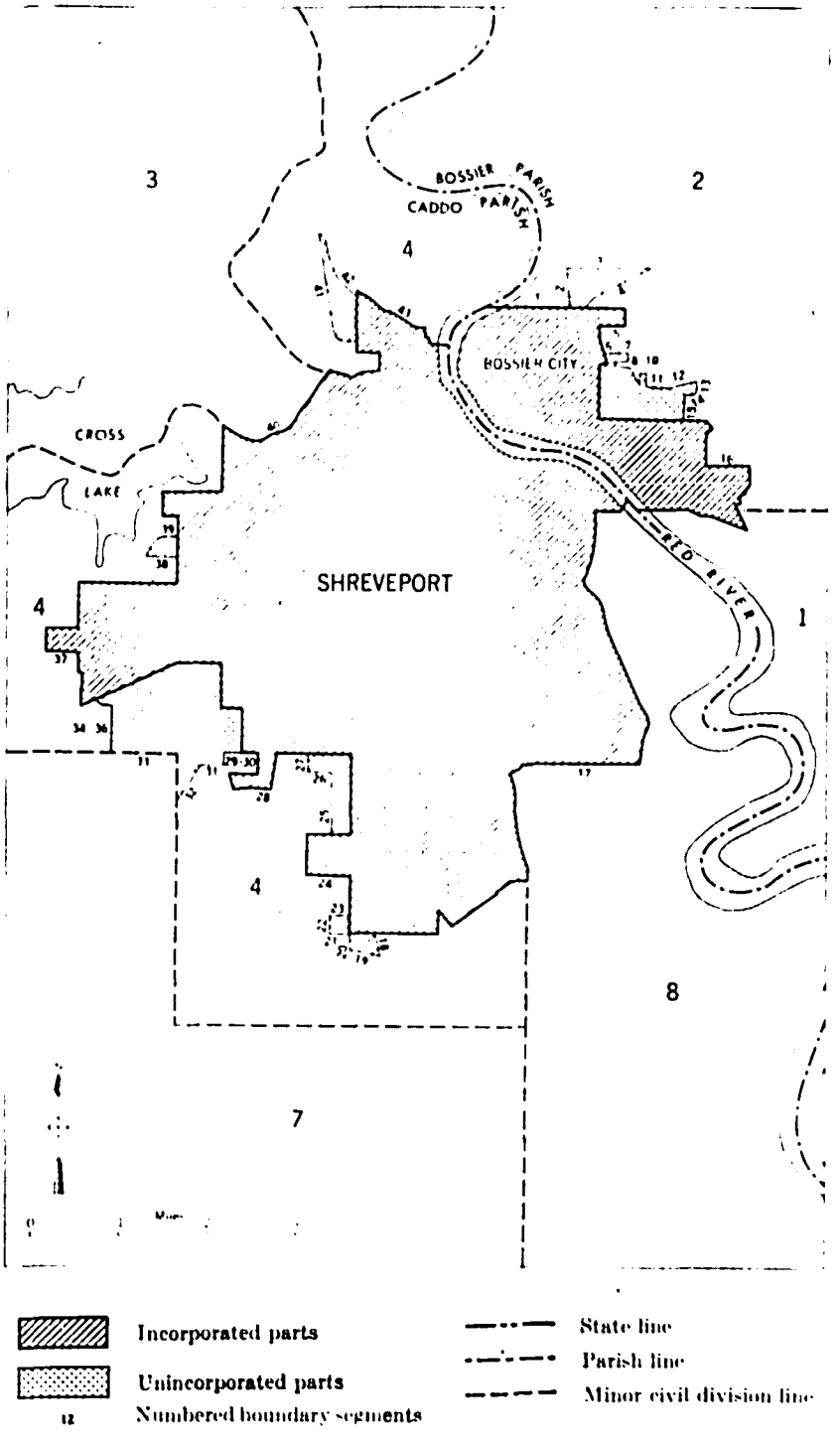

Figure 13. Shreveport urbanized area: 1950. (Source: United States Census of Population: 1950)

the urban fringe became peopled largely during this same ten year period, in addition to the city proper, it is indicative of the steady, if not dramatic, growth of Shreveport. Actually, Shreveport's per cent of increase from 1940 to 1950 was 29.6, which is not inconsiderable, and as pointed out above, this rate does not include the fringe population.

For the purpose of comparison of the two areas at different census periods it is necessary to use the figures for the standard metropolitan areas. As stated above, the entire parish in which the respective city is located is designated as its standard metropolitan area in the 1950 Census, and parish population figures are comparable with those in previous censuses.

The standard metropolitan area of Baton Rouge contained, in 1950, 158,236 persons which represented an increase of 79.0 per cent, or about four-fifth greater numbers than in the 1940 population. In 1950, Shreveport's metropolitan area included 176,547 people, an increase of 17.5 per cent over the 1940 enumeration. These data serve to emphasize the tremendous population growth in Baton Rouge during the decade between 1940 and 1950. While the extension of the city's boundaries in 1949 accounts, in part, for the apparently sudden upward shift in numbers of inhabitants for the urban place, these figures for the standard metropolitan area indicate that the increase in total numbers of persons must be explained in some other manner.

The comparable growth of Shreveport also reflects steady increase in numbers of inhabitants amounting to approximately one-fifth more persons than were included in the 1940 enumeration.

Population Density

In 1950 the population density in East Baton Rouge Parish, which comprises the standard metropolitan area of Baton Rouge, was 342.5, a marked increase over the 191.4 density of 1940. In the Shreveport standard metropolitan area, of Caddo Parish, the density of population also increased during the ten-year span but only from 166.9 in 1940 to 198.1 in 1950.[7] And whereas the rank of the two respective areas in population density in 1940 was second in the state for Caddo Parish and third for East Baton Rouge Parish, in 1950 East Baton Rouge Parish pulled ahead to second place while Caddo Parish dropped to fifth place. Orleans Parish, containing Louisiana's largest city of New Orleans, ranked first in both instances, as would be expected. Again this emphasizes the differential growth rate between Baton Rouge and Shreveport, which is a most significant factor in the analysis of the particular characteristics of each city.

In Table II it is possible to consider the man-land relationships in Baton Rouge and Shreveport (urban place), and to contrast them with those

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[7] United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-A18 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951) p. 8.

TABLE II

LAND AREA AND POPULATION DENSITY FOR BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT AND LOUISIANA: 1950* **

Area	Land Area in Square Miles	Population per Square Miles
Baton Rouge	30.2	4,160.0
Shreveport	24.0	5,300.0
Louisiana	45,162.0	59.4

*Source: Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953) pp. 210, 458, Tables 3, 4.

**Urban place figures.

of the population of Louisiana. In Baton Rouge there are 4,160 persons for every square mile of land, but in Shreveport there are 5,300 persons for the same area. The population density of the state as a whole is only 59.4, which is a marked contrast with the urban centers.

The greater land area of 30.2 square miles in Baton Rouge, as compared with 24.0 square miles in Shreveport, gives that city a lower population density and consequently more living space than is enjoyed by Shreveport. In actual numbers of inhabitants these two urban centers are very similar, with 127,206 persons in Shreveport and 125,629 in Baton Rouge. This represents a majority of only 1,577 people in the city of Shreveport. However, because of the latter city's smaller land area, there are 1,240 more persons living on each square mile in Shreveport than in the Capital City. It is clear that such differentials in population density would be reflected with varying degrees of urgency in the requirements for schools, for transportation facilities, and for other types of goods and services in the two urban centers.

Distribution by Race

Native-born Whites. The native white persons comprise 70.8 per cent of the population in Baton Rouge and 65.7 of that in Shreveport. In both cities this group occupies a greater part of

the land area (see Figures 14 and 15), particularly those areas which have composed the principal parts of the city in the earlier stages of development. The marked expansion of white housing into the suburban and fringe areas is a fairly recent development which accompanied the increase of paved streets and highways and of automobiles. Most of the low and middle income families still live well within the old city proper.

Foreign-born Whites. The relatively small foreign-born segments have tended in some instances to settle in fairly close proximity to the less advantaged areas where the Negroes live. This is true particularly of Shreveport, where many people of Italian, Syrian and Greek descent are concentrated in the predominantly nonwhite neighborhood known as Allendale. In Baton Rouge the foreign-born, or the relatively recent descendants of foreign-born, are not located in any concentrated pattern of residential settlement.

Negro. As recorded in Table III, Chapter V, 28.0 per cent of the population of Baton Rouge is Negro and the comparable per cent in Shreveport is 33.1. The patterns of distribution of these population segments differ distinctly in the two cities. It is found, for example, that in delineating neighborhoods in Baton Rouge it is not possible to designate them strictly as white and Negro. In compiling a distribution map of the city's population by race recently,

the Baton Rouge City-Parish Planning Board found that housing units of the two races were too thoroughly intermingled to permit clear-cut division lines except in the larger Negro settlements (See Figure 14). The white-nonwhite racial distribution could be accurately indicated in Baton Rouge only by a dot map or by presenting data on census tracts. This situation is particularly evident in the older residential area of Baton Rouge. Many of the newly planned subdivisions are exclusively for white home-owners, but these are largely private real estate developments. It is also noteworthy that small clusters of Negro residents are to be found in those sections which are giving way to commercialization, the "areas in transition" between the business districts and the "good" residential locations. Such examples are to be found in the sections adjacent to the campus of Louisiana State University on the north, which were once on the outer edge of the city, but now are well within the legal boundaries of the city. Another such concentration of Negro homes is the newly opened section of North 33rd Street before it joins Florida Street near the Baton Rouge General Hospital. This is again an interstitial area which is being invaded by commercial housing.

In Shreveport, as indicated in Figure 15, distinct sections are given over to Negro housing in a consistent segregated pattern. The upper socio-economic classes of Negroes live largely in the populous Allendale neighborhood and surrounding sections in North

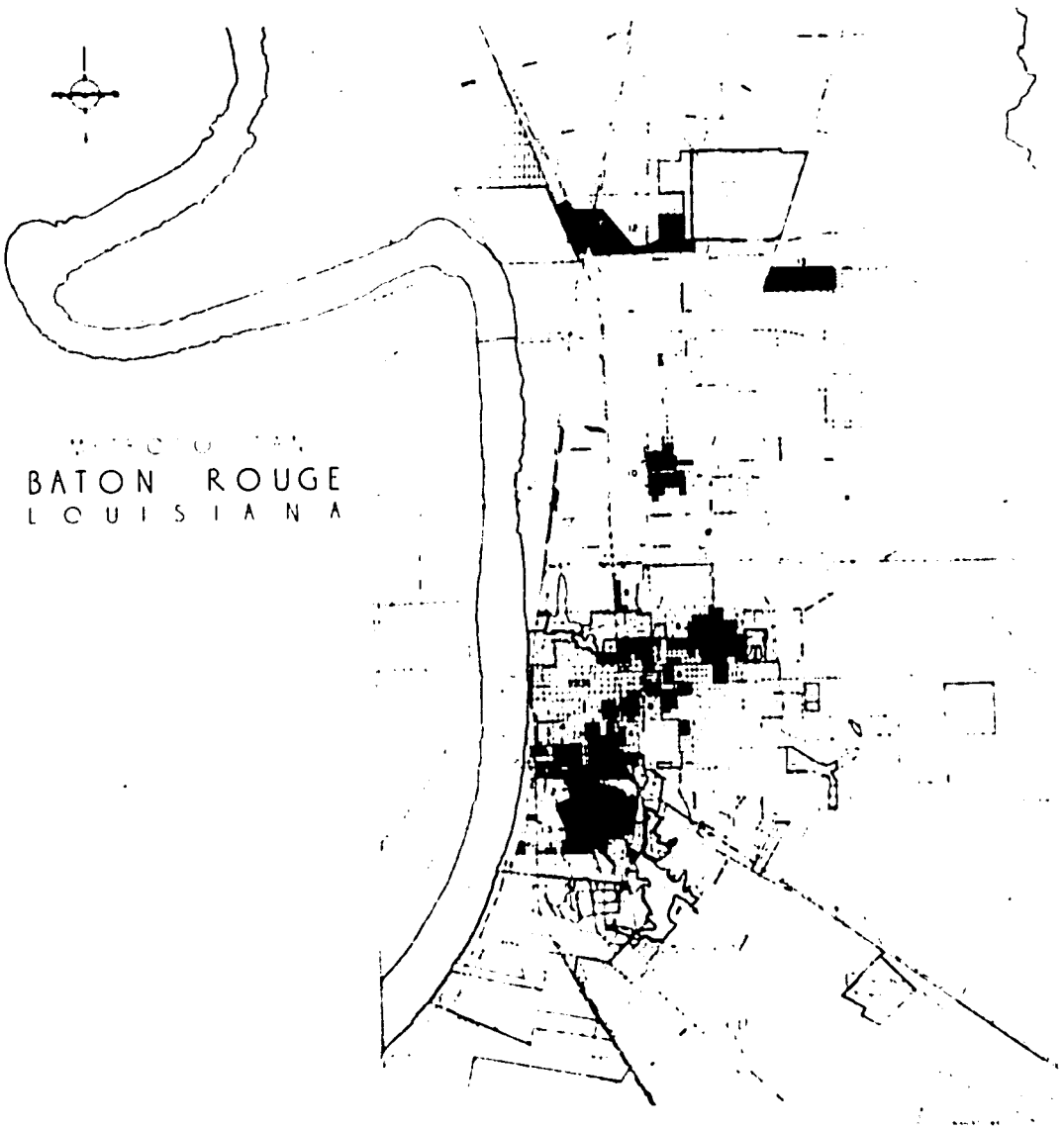

Figure 14. Distribution of population of Baton Rouge by race: 1950. (Black areas represent Negro housing).
Source: Bartholomew Associates

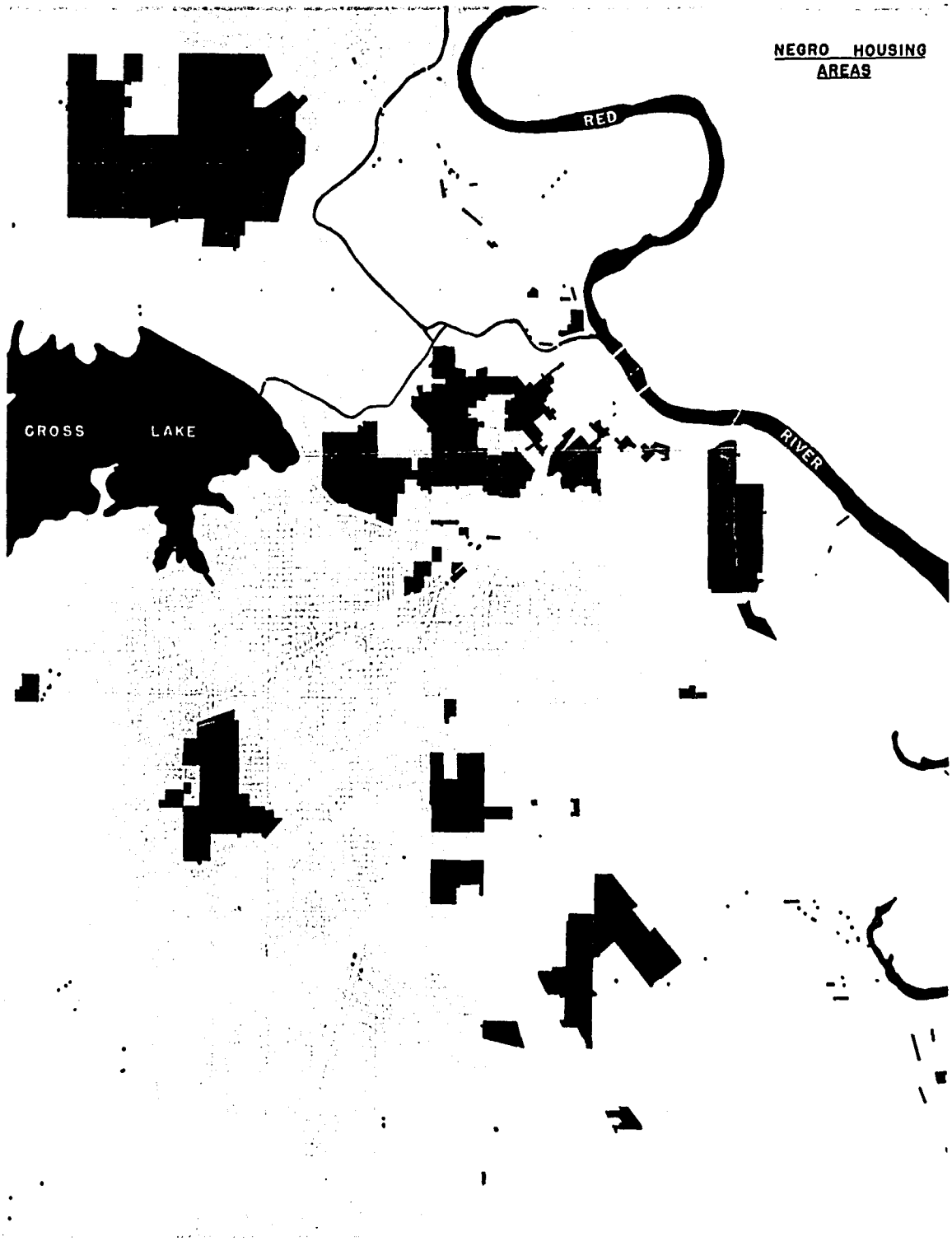

Figure 15. Distribution of population of Shreveport by race: 1950. (Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant).

Shreveport, which comprise a great part of the older city. This Negro area stretches a tenuous connecting line all the way to "St. Paul's Bottoms," a Negro settlement in the central city bodering the Red River in which once was centered the legalized houses of prostitution of Shreveport. A second sizeable Negro settlement is found in the large Hollywood subdivision between St. Vincent's Avenue and the Mansfield Road on the southwest periphery of the city which was for many years a disadvantaged fringe area, but is now included in the corporate limits and finds itself in the midst of prosperous growth. A third heavily populated Negro area is in the Cedar Grove community at the extreme southeastern boundary of Shreveport. This area was settled when Cedar Grove was an independent municipality and has continued to maintain its importance in numbers. This Negro subdivision, too, has lost the characteristic of isolation, now being practically contiguous with the wealthiest and most exclusive of the white expansions, namely the Pierremont subdivision. Other Negro concentrations are found in various parts of the city, particularly in the south central part, but they are always within limited physical boundaries. Several of those nearest the downtown area are being razed in the slum-clearance program now under way in Shreveport.

Change in Numbers and Distribution

Figures 16 and 17 give the estimated population distribution in Baton Rouge and Shreveport in 1953 and 1954, respectively. These estimates were obtained by two methods: (1) By taking aerial photographs of the city, making a careful count of the houses (residential), then multiplying by the average number of persons per house in 1950.[8] (These averages were 3.5 for Baton Rouge and 3.3 for Shreveport.) (2) A correction was made for enumeration districts where the population was exceptionally dense or especially sparse. The latter precaution renders the estimate more reliable. The high concentration of numbers in the central cities and the numerous neighborhood clusters bespeak the recent changes in numbers and distribution in both of these Louisiana cities. The change in actual numbers will be considered in Chapter XIII.

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[8] These charts were prepared by professional city planning engineers in each city, but in the case of Baton Rouge this writer assisted with the count, in part.

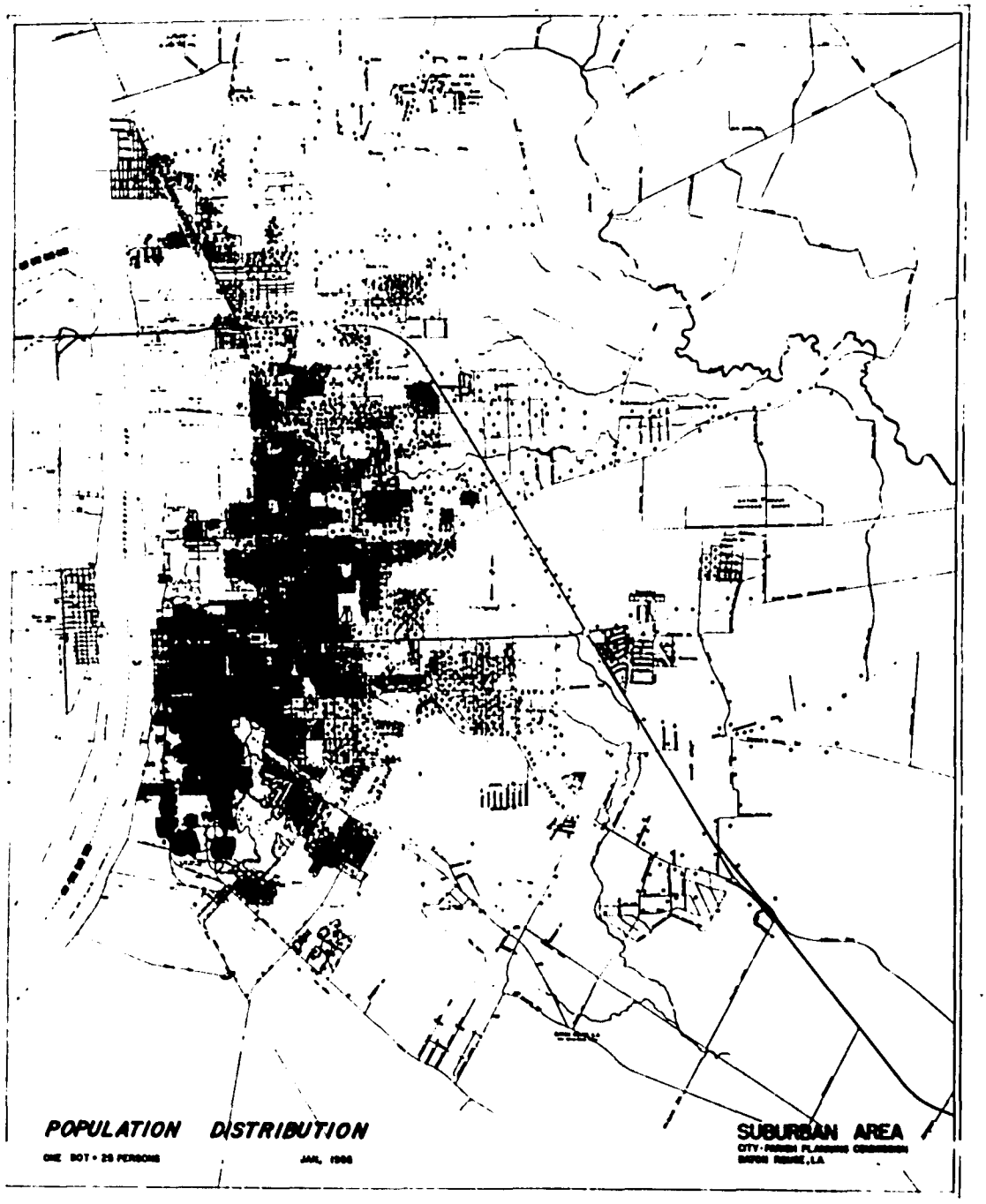

Figure 16. Distribution of population, Baton Rouge: 1955. (Courtesy of City-Parish Planning Commission).

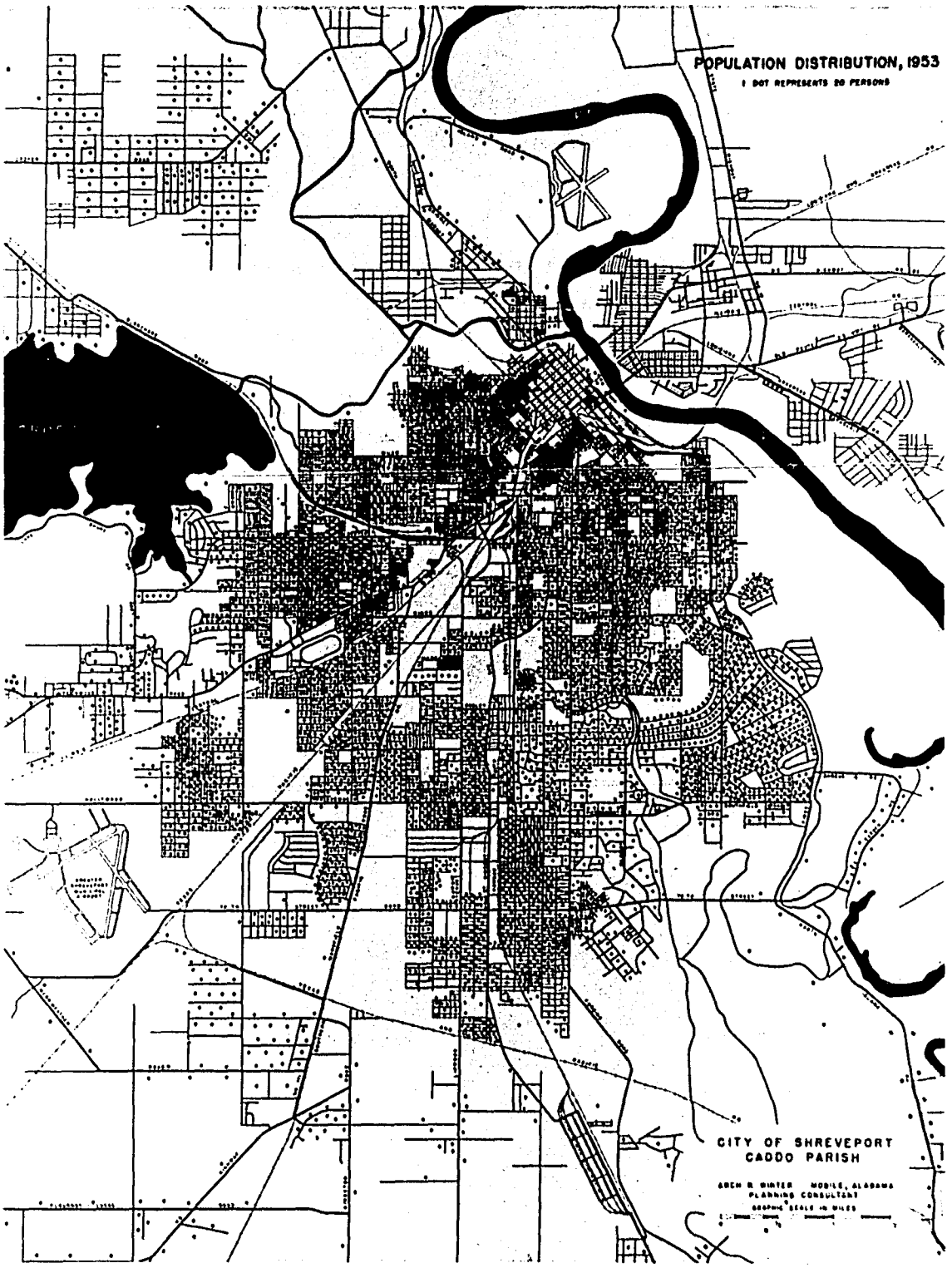

Figure 17. Distribution of population, Shreveport: 1953. (Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant).

CHAPTER V

RACE AND NATIVITY

The classification of race and nativity is of profound importance to any population study in the United States. The great differences that exist in the cultural backgrounds, and in the economic, educational and occupational status of the native whites, the foreign-born, and the Negroes bear significantly upon all aspects of life. Any demographic analysis of a population in the South which did not subdivide the data by race and nativity would almost certainly support erroneous conclusions. For example, the high proportion of Negroes in the Southern region has a significant influence upon the other characteristics of the population, as well as upon the vital processes and migration. Unless the influences of race and nativity are identified and evaluated, it is not possible to make reliable comparisons between different populations or between different demographic phenomena within the same aggregate.

Those responsible for the United States census have recognized the importance of the classification of race and nativity by making it a primary subdivision of its tabulations. Smith holds that, since the census of 1850, when the white and colored populations were first classified according to native residence, place of birth, and unknown

origins, the classification of race and nativity in the federal census has become second in importance only to the residential breakdown. [1]

The Data

The concept of race as it is used by the Bureau of the Census does not reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock, but is derived from the definition commonly accepted by the general public. Several categories obviously refer to nationalities; thus it is practicable to consider race and nativity together. The category "other races" as defined by the census includes Indians, Japanese, Chinese and other nonwhite races. The only way the latter category will enter into this analysis will be as one of the components in total population figures.

The nativity classification which breaks the white population down into native and foreign-born is less important in the 1950 census than in earlier censuses. Because of the declining numerical importance of the foreign-born population, nativity has not been used so extensively for cross-classifications as in previous decades. This is especially true of nativity and parentage of the white population and country of origin of foreign white stock. These latter data have been

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[1] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 46.

published in a special report, but are not available for these two cities. Therefore, for 1950, it is not possible to classify the relatively small groups of foreign-born people in Baton Rouge and Shreveport according to their national origins.

Most of the data in the census for the two Southern cities under consideration here are listed under the categories of "white" and "nonwhite." This is, in effect, a separation of white and Negro because the percentage of persons of colored races other than Negro is negligible. The total number of persons classed as "other races," which includes all other nonwhites besides Negroes, was 65 in 1950 for Baton Rouge and 70 for Shreveport. In each instance, the percentage of the total population for nonwhites other than Negro was .05, or only a small fraction of one per cent. Thus it is logical to assume that the nonwhite category, in reference to the cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport, represents the Negro population. The terms "Negro" and "nonwhite" are used interchangeably in this discussion. Where there are significant data for other nonwhite races that fact is noted. Whenever possible and feasible, the white population is broken down into native white and foreign-born, and the native white population is classified as to nativity of parentage, e.g. foreign-born, or mixed native and foreign-born.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

Table III shows the distribution of the populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and the rural-farm group of Louisiana, by race and nativity for 1950. Of the 125,629 people in Baton Rouge in 1950, 89,005 (70.8 per cent) of them were native white and 1,442 (1.1 per cent) were classed as foreign-born white; making a total white class equaling 71.9 per cent of the entire population. Of the remainder, 35,117 (28.0 per cent) were classed as Negro, with only 65 people (.05 per cent) constituting the category "other races." Shreveport's 127,206 persons were classified as follows: 83,357 (65.7 per cent) native white; 1,607 (1.2 per cent) foreign-born white; 42,169 (33.1 per cent) Negro; 70 (.05 per cent) in the "other races" category. The rural-farm population of the state has 58.6 per cent of its people classified as white, of which only 0.4 per cent are foreign-born; and 41.3 per cent as Negro; with an insignificant 0.1 per cent in the class of "other races." It is readily apparent that the great bulk of these three populations is white and Negro. Because of the major importance of these two categories, the analysis will be largely concerned with them.

Native-born Whites.

Among the white populations, the native-born constitutes by far the greater percentage. Baton Rouge has the largest percentage in the native-born category, with Shreveport recording the second highest

TABLE III

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATIONS BY RACE AND NATIVITY, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT, AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1950*

Area	Total Population	Number			Per Cent		
		Native White	Foreigh-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
Baton Rouge	125,629	89,005	1,442	35,117	70.8	1.1	28.0
Shreveport	127,206	83,357	1,607	42,169	65.7	1.2	33.1
Louisiana Rural-farm	567,455	330,359	3,349	234,374	58.2	0.4	41.3

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950. Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 26, Table 14; pp. 49-50, Table 34.

proportion and the rural-farm group the smallest. Conversely, the rural-farm group has the greatest proportion of Negroes, Shreveport has the second largest percentage, and Baton Rouge has the smallest relative number of nonwhites. This places Shreveport in an intermediary position between Baton Rouge and the rural-farm population of Louisiana insofar as the relative size of the Negro populations is concerned. The native white stock has been numerically superior in the entire South, as well as in the two urban centers considered here, since the early days of their history. Although Shreveport had its origins in the British colonies and Baton Rouge was founded and settled by the French, the greater part of the history of both cities has been characterized by little immigration of foreign peoples. Culturally, the two cities still reflect the influences of the early nationality groups, but the native white element is predominant in their populations and has been since 1920, as indicated in Table IV. Beginning with the 1920 census, Baton Rouge's white group has been relatively more important than that of Shreveport.

Foreign-born White

The foreign-born segment of the white populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport today constitutes a relatively small component of each. In 1950 each city had about fifteen hundred persons in this

TABLE IV

TRENDS IN PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY RACE AND NATIVITY, FOR THE POPULATIONS OF BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT, AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1910-1950*

Area	Race and Nativity	Per Cent 1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Baton Rouge						
	Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Native White	44.1	58.0	63.3	65.0	70.8
	Foreign-born	2.7	2.7	1.9	1.5	1.1
	Negro	53.0	39.3	34.7	33.5	28.0
Shreveport						
	Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Native White	44.6	57.1	62.3	61.8	65.7
	Foreign-born	3.6	3.0	2.0	1.5	1.2
	Negro	49.6	39.9	35.5	36.6	33.1
Louisiana Rural-farm**						
	Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Native White	50.6	55.3	55.1	55.2	58.2
	Foreign-born	1.6	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.4
	Negro	47.9	43.6	45.0	44.7	41.3

*Sources: Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract of the Census (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1913) p. 600, Table II, p. 601, Table III; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Vol. III, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States, p. 388, Table 1, p. 399, Table 10; Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Vol. II, Part I, p. 979, Table 12; Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) p. 338, Table 7, pp. 422-423, Table 32; United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. 26, Table 14, pp. 49-50, Table 34.

**The rural population was not subdivided into rural-farm and rural-nonfarm until the Census of 1920.

category, amounting to slightly over one per cent of the total group. The small percentage represents a marked loss in importance for this group during the past three decades. A consistent decrease in the proportion of foreign-born whites in these two populations has occurred during that period. In 1910, a peak immigration year for the nation as a whole, the foreign-born whites comprised 3.6 per cent of Shreveport's population and 2.7 per cent of that of Baton Rouge. (See Figure 18).

Because of the declining numbers in the foreign-born segment of the population there is no classification by country of origin of these people in Baton Rouge and Shreveport since the census of 1940. Before 1950 the country of origin was listed for every foreign-born person, and the native whites were classified according to nativity of parents. These latter data are not available in the 1940 census for Baton Rouge and Shreve port. It is recorded in the 1910 census that 531 native whites in Baton Rouge (8.1 per cent) of the total number in that category had one or more foreign-born parents, with by far the greatest number reporting Germany as their native land. (See Table V) Italy was second in importance as the country of birth for parents of foreign-born. In Shreveport in 1910, there were 921 (or 7.0 per cent) native whites with foreign-born parents. Here, also, Germany was the most common country of origin, and again Italy ranked second. These facts are pertinent because they furnish a broader basis for comparing the nationality origins of the foreign-born

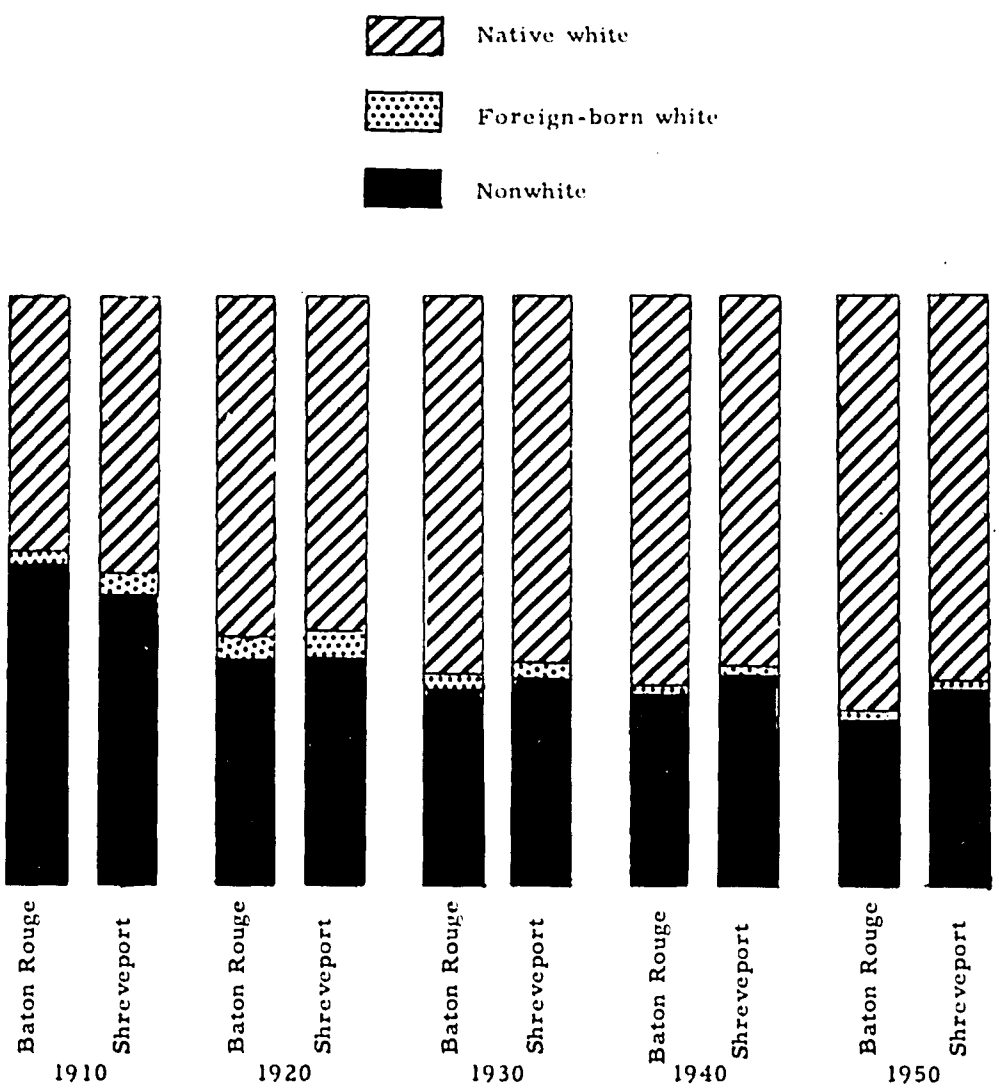

Figure 18. Per cent of population by race and nativity, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1910-1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

TABLE V

NATIVE WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY OF PARENTS, SHREVEPORT AND BATON ROUGE: 1950*

Country of Parents' Birth	Number	
	Baton Rouge	Shreveport
Total	531	921
Australia	1	15
Canada	5	10
England	9	34
France	41	49
Germany	194	312
Hungary	---	5
Ireland	49	88
Italy	124	104
Norway	---	1
Russia	3	97
Scotland	2	11
Sweden	---	4
Switzerland	---	5
All Other	103	186

*Source: Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract, p. 600, Table II; p. 601, Table III.

and native whites of these two cities than is provided by any later census.

Table VI gives the countries of birth of the foreign-born populations of 1910 and 1940. In 1910, Italy was responsible for the most immigrants in Baton Rouge and Germany ranked second. The positions of these two countries were exactly reversed in Shreveport. France, Turkey, and Russia filled the next three ranks in Baton Rouge, in that order. In Shreveport, Russia ranked third, but France and Turkey followed, in fourth and fifth places. The north Louisiana city's foreign-born population was more important, relatively, in 1910, than that of the Mississippi River port city of south Louisiana. The relative per cents were 3.6 for Shreveport and 2.7 for Baton Rouge.

In 1940, it is interesting to note that Shreveport had almost three times the number of foreign-born white citizens as Baton Rouge, although the percentages were the same. In both populations the Italians constituted, by far, the most numerous nationality group. In Baton Rouge, the other countries of origin by rank order of importance were Italy, Germany, France, England, Palestine and Syria. All other nationalities were represented by fewer than twenty persons each.

The rank order of importance of foreign-born white in Shreveport in 1940, following Italy, were Russia, Germany and

TABLE VI

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1910-1940*

Country of Birth	Number			
	Baton Rouge		Shreveport	
	1910	1940	1910	1940
Total	407	526	1004	1460
Australia	---	2	---	2
Austria	---	9	45	16
Belgium	2	2	1	47
Bulgaria	---	---	---	3
Canada	11	17	4	66
Central and South America	---	13	1	13
Cuba	---	---	1	---
Czechoslovakia	---	---	---	6
Denmark	10	2	1	11
England	9	29	81	76
Finland	---	---	---	2
France	41	33	91	81
Germany	78	45	197	125
Greece	---	5	16	98
Hungary	1	6	5	16
Ireland	5	8	56	58
Italy	145	249	159	344
Latvia	---	1	---	6
Lithuania	---	---	---	10
Mexico	1	5	15	45
Netherlands	---	6	---	8
Norway	---	6	3	11
Palestine and Syria	---	26	---	80
Poland	---	12	---	81
Roumania	---	3	4	5
Russia	17	15	150	151
Scotland	5	6	14	12
Spain	6	4	2	1
Sweden	1	1	13	14
Switzerland	5	3	11	7
Turkey	33	4	86	21
Wales	---	---	---	3
West Indies	---	5	---	5
Yugoslavia	---	---	---	17
All Other and Not Reported	15	9	13	9

*Source: Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract, p. 600, Table II, p. 601, Table III; Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, p. 390, Table 24,

Greece occupying second, third, and fourth positions, respectively. France and Poland shared the fifth ranking position, closely followed by Palestine and Syria in sixth place and England in seventh place.

Two interesting differences between Baton Rouge and Shreveport are notable. In the latter city in 1940, the Russians moved to second place in importance and the English dropped to seventh rank. However, in Baton Rouge in 1940 the Russians lost in rank importance to about seventh place and the foreign-born of English origin moved into fourth rank in that city.

Another revealing feature of the 1940 data is the inclusion of foreign-born persons from countries of origin not listed in earlier census reports. Among these individuals were immigrants from Australia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Netherlands, Wales, and Yugoslavia. It should be pointed out that some of these countries were not in existence at the time of the 1910 census, thus the country of origin would have been listed differently in 1910. Also, the likelihood that many of these immigrants resided elsewhere in the nation prior to the 1940 census should not be overlooked. Therefore, these data are not entirely dependable.

The trend toward decreasing relative importance of the foreign-born whites is a general one in the nation, because of the limitations imposed on immigration in recent decades. However, the South as a

whole has always attracted few immigrants in comparison with the other regions.[2] This is true of Louisiana, which had only 1.2 per cent of foreign-born persons in the 1950 population.[3] Among urban centers of the state, the city of New Orleans has by far the greatest proportion of Louisiana's foreign white stock.[4] The foreign-born population of Baton Rouge and Shreveport has not been a dominant influence upon the demographic characteristics, or upon the social and economic life of these metropolitan centers.

Negroes.

In the census classification, the Negro group includes persons of mixed white and Negro parentage and persons of mixed Indian and Negro parentage unless the Indian blood very definitely predominates or unless the individual is accepted in the community as an Indian.[5] It is recognized that due to miscegenation there are many individuals of mixed racial stocks, classed as Negro in Louisiana's population, who are racially more white than Negroid.[6] Because of this admixture, the importance of the Negro group in the population is

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[2] Smith and Hitt. The People of Louisiana, p. 35.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 46.

[5] United States Census of Population: 1950. Bulletin P.—B18, Louisiana General Characteristics, p. vi.

[6] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, pp. 33-34.

somewhat erroneously emphasized. It must be recognized, however, that it would be practically impossible to separate out the relatively pure Negroid stock.

Since 1820, which was the time of the first United States Census of Louisiana's population, the proportion of Negroes has shown a consistent decline.[7] The same relative decrease in importance of the Negro group is noted in the urban centers. In Baton Rouge, the Negroes comprised 58.5 per cent of the population in 1900,[8] 39.3 per cent in 1920; 33.5 per cent in 1940; and only 28.0 per cent in 1950. (Table IV) Shreveport's population consisted of 53.3 per cent in 1900;[9] 39.9 per cent in 1920; 36.6 per cent in 1940; and 33.1 per cent in 1950. The loss in relative importance of this race was less rapid in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge but it was equally consistent.

In 1900 Baton Rouge's population was more predominantly Negro than was that of Shreveport, with a percentage of 58.5 as contrasted with 53.3 per cent in the north Louisiana city. By 1920, the relative proportions of this race were almost identical in the two

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[7] Ibid., p. 34.

[8] Negro Population in the United States: 1790-1915 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office- 1918) p. 98, Table 12.

[9] Ibid., p. 93, Table 10.

cities, being 39.3 per cent for Baton Rouge and slightly higher (39.6 per cent) for Shreveport. From this slightly higher percentage of Negroes in 1920 Shreveport's proportion of nonwhites has persisted and continues to be larger than that in the Capital City. In 1940, Baton Rouge's population contained 33.5 per cent Negroes while Shreveport counted 36.6 in the same category. And in 1950 the comparative proportions were 33.1 per cent Negroes in Shreveport and only 28.0 per cent in Baton Rouge. Thus, in 1900, the proportion of Negroes in Baton Rouge constituted considerably more than the same race in Shreveport, but by 1950 the relative positions were reversed and Shreveport's Negro segment accounted for 5.1 more percentage points of her population than did the Negroes of Baton Rouge. In spite of the different rates of change, it is clear that the Negro population in both of these urban centers is consistently declining in relative importance with each decennial census. (See Figure 18 and Table VII). This fact may be partially attributable to the differentials in mortality and life expectancy between the white and nonwhite aggregates. However, it is very likely more largely a result of heavier white than Negro in-migration to cities and to the migration of the Negroes out of the South.

Rural-urban Differentials

With further reference to Table III it is discovered that the rural-farm population of Louisiana contains a lower proportion of native whites

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DECREASE IN NEGRO POPULATIONS, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1910-1930*

Area	Negro Population					
	Number			Per Cent of Total Population		
	1930	1920	1910	1930	1920	1910
Baton Rouge	10,675	8,560	7,899	34.7	39.3	53.0
Shreveport	27,219	17,485	13,896	35.5	39.9	49.6

* Source: Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1935) p. 55, Table 10.

and a higher proportion of Negroes than either of the urban centers. This condition is not unexpected since Negroes tend to remain rooted in the rural sections of the South.[10] They have not migrated to cities from rural areas in relatively as great numbers as the rural whites do, nor do they migrate out of the region so frequently as the urban members of their racial group. The figures in Table IV will further confirm the fact that the downward trend in the proportion of Negroes in the population is less rapid in the rural-farm area of Louisiana than in Baton Rouge or Shreveport. Among these three populations, the relative increase of native whites and decrease of Negroes since 1910 is most notable in Baton Rouge, with Shreveport showing a slightly less important manifestation of this trend, and the rural-farm area changing the slowest of all.

General Conclusions

The race and nativity composition of Baton Rouge and Shreveport exhibits common trends toward increasing proportions of native whites; decreasing of the foreign-born to the level of insignificance; and a declining percentage of Negroes in the population. Both

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[10] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 18.

the foreign-born and the Negroes have been lessening in relative importance since 1910. Baton Rouge's population in 1950 included the higher relative number of native whites and the lower proportion of Negroes. Shreveport's population revealed the same relative influences, although the change was occurring less rapidly.

Both cities reflect the typical population patterns of urban centers in the South, with the native whites constituting by far the most important group, a significant proportion of Negroes, and foreign-born persons accounting for a very small number and relatively insignificant proportion of the total population.

CHAPTER VI

AGE COMPOSITION

The data relative to the age structure of a population are among the most useful information at the disposal of the demographer. They are pertinent alike to specialists and nonspecialists. Among the many groups who find vital applications for accurate information on age distribution are governmental bureaus, educational and military planning boards, welfare and health organizations, and employers. The age structure of a community influences the requirements for specific kinds of medical services, and for recreational and other community facilities. Age in some manner conditions all phases of social life.[1]

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the social implications of two emerging phenomena: the increase in the birth rate and the extended life expectancy for the general population. Each of these factors has served to increase the proportionate numbers in specific age groups and thus has significantly modified the pyramidal outlines of the age structure. The resulting increase in

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[1] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 88.

the numbers among the dependent ages produces social and economic consequences which are important to the entire population. The age composition is also related to other characteristics of the population such as marital status, fertility, and mortality. The accuracy of age data is, therefore, extremely important to dependable population analysis.[2]

The Data

In this analysis the data pertaining to age composition were obtained entirely from the federal Census publications. The census data concerning age have been subject to various inaccuracies which make difficult the task of reliable analysis. Smith and Hitt have pointed out that errors in census reporting have occurred most often in the ages ending with 0 and those ending with 5, with an excess reported in those ages and the even ages and with omissions in the count among the ages under one year.[3]

According to the 1950 Census, a comparison of age distributions, based on figures from the 1940 and 1950 Census reports, indicates that misreporting still occurs. In addition to the characteristic

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[2] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 50.

[3] Ibid.

errors mentioned above, in the 1950 Census there appears to be an underenumeration of children under five and of persons in the age range 55 to 64 years, with an excess reported in the ages over 65.[4]

Types of Measurement

Four types of measures are generally employed for the analysis of age data. These are the median age of the aggregate, the age-sex pyramid, index numbers, and the dependency ratio.

The median age of a group of people shows the distribution of ages in a limited but useful manner. It is the middle age of the aggregate, or the age at which there are equal numbers older and younger. This index is more meaningful than the mean or average age would be because it is not influenced by extremes at either end of the age span. This advantage becomes apparent when inaccurate reporting has occurred in these extreme ages, as has frequently been the case.

The age-sex pyramid, a common device in population analysis, shows graphically the proportions in the conventional age groupings in the population according to sex, with the lowest group,

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[4] United States Census of Population: 1950. Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. VII.

aged 0 to 4 years forming the base of the pyramid. The vertical scale is used for the percentages representing the ascending age classes and the length of each bar is determined by the percentage of the population constituted by that particular age category, with the males to the left of the dividing center line and the females to the right. The device is simple, clearly understood at a glance, and it effectively points up the differences in the age distribution of a group. Since the age-sex distribution covers more than four-fifths of a century of time it is possible to see reflected in the contours of this pyramid the effects of various social processes. Such influences as changes in birth and mortality rates, migration, wars and epidemics all leave their imprint in graphic fashion here.

T. Lynn Smith has devised a useful means of examining variations in the age data which he calls the application of index numbers. He points out that differences in percentage as represented in the age-sex pyramid may appear to be insignificant when they actually are of substantial importance. This is especially true when large numbers of people are being considered.[5] To use this method indexes are computed, based on percentages, to represent each age group in relation to corresponding groups in a population arbitrarily chosen as the

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[5] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 103.

norm. For any selected aggregate the index number of a given age class is determined by dividing the percentage of persons in that class by the percentage of persons in the corresponding age class of the norm population and multiplying the quotient by 100. For example, we may select as a base the United States population for 1950. Of this population, 10.7 per cent are under five years of age. The corresponding per cent for Baton Rouge is 12.9. The index number for that age class would then be 121, indicating that if these two groups were equal in size but each with its unique age profile, there would be 121 persons under five years of age in Baton Rouge for every 100 persons of that age in the United States. The corresponding percentage for Shreveport in the ages under five for 1950 is 11.6 and the index number for that category is 108. The advantage of using index numbers becomes immediately evident because the figures 121 and 108 suggest a wider variation between these age groups in the two cities than does the relative percentage difference of 12.9 and 11.6 as indicated on the age-sex pyramid. A curve may be plotted with index numbers on the vertical axis and age on the horizontal axis.

The dependency ratio is simply the ratio of the dependents in a population to the producers.[6] The persons under 15 years of

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[6] This index has been used by many writers but to Homer L. Hitt goes the credit for first use of the term "dependency ratio" in the publication by Homer L. Hitt and Alvin Bertrand, The Social Aspects of Hospital Planning in Louisiana (Health and Hospital Division, Office of the Governor: Baton Rouge, Louisiana, August, 1947), p. 62.

age and over 64 are dependent, as a rule, upon those in the productive years which fall between these two extremes. Smith finds that, "in 1950 the urban population of the United States contained only 486 persons in these dependent ages for every 1000 persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four, inclusive; while in the rural farm population the corresponding ratio was 688 to 1000."[7] Hillery, also, has given considerable attention to this means of measurement in his unpublished doctoral dissertation. He emphasizes the usefulness of the device not only in determining the potential productive strength of a population, but as a measure of "socially meaningful age categories" such as children, adults and aged.[8]

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

Median Age

Total Population. In Table VIII are presented the median ages of the populations of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, and Shreveport, by sex, race, and nativity. It will be noted that in all classes and in both sexes Baton Rouge's population is younger than that of Shreveport or that of the broader population of the state. Its median age of 26.3

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[7] T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953) p. 80.

[8] George A. Hillery, The Negro in New Orleans: A Demographic Analysis (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1954) p. 40.

TABLE VIII

MEDIAN AGES OF THE POPULATION BY SEX, RACE, AND NATIVITY, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT, AND LOUISIANA: 1950*

Area	All Classes			Native White			Foreign-born White			Negro		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	26.3	26.1	26.5	26.4	26.3	26.5	46.4	48.6	43.3	25.8	25.2	26.2
Shreveport	28.5	28.0	28.9	29.6	29.2	30.0	51.7	53.7	49.7	25.5	24.2	26.4
Louisiana	26.6	26.1	27.0	27.5	27.1	27.9	54.2	55.8	52.0	23.7	22.8	24.4

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 122, 123, Table 53.

is 2.2 years less than Shreveport's 28.5 years, but only slightly less than Louisiana's 26.6 years. This suggests that Baton Rouge is drawing young people, both male and female, from the rural areas in greater numbers than Shreveport. This supposition is reinforced by the age-sex profile which demonstrates that a greater proportion of people between the ages of 20 and 30 years reside in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport. In both cities the male aggregate is younger than the female, but this difference is more pronounced in Shreveport.

Native Whites. Among native whites the greater youthfulness of Baton Rouge's people is further emphasized. The low median age of 26.4 years is practically the same for both sexes and contrasts sharply with Shreveport's median age of 29.6 years, indicating a differential of more than three years. Shreveport's female population is relatively older than males in her own urban area, and distinctly older than those in Baton Rouge. Louisiana's median age ranges between that of the two cities, which would seem to suggest the greater relative attraction of Baton Rouge for people in the productive ages.

Foreign-born Whites. Among the foreign-born white group, which is of negligible importance to this analysis because it is relatively very small, there is a high median age. The median age of this group in Baton Rouge is 46.4 years as compared with 51.7 years for

Shreveport. The median age of the foreign-born in the state as a whole is 54.2 years, higher than that of either city. In contrast to the native white group the females in this aggregate are considerably younger than the males. The foreign-born females have a median age of 43.3 as contrasted with 48.6 for males in Baton Rouge, and 49.7 as compared with 51.7 for males in Shreveport. Possibly this is in part a result of the tendency for males to be dominant among the earliest migrants.[9]

Negroes. Among the Negroes, an interesting reversal of the pattern prevailing in the other groups is found. The median age of Negroes is lowest of all for the state, at 23.7 years. Also, Shreveport's median falls slightly below that of Baton Rouge, with the median ages being 25.5 for the former and 25.8 for the latter. In all three areas, however, females have a slightly higher median age than males, the difference being less marked in the two cities than in Louisiana's population. The phenomenon of a younger population among Negroes than among whites might be attributable to the higher mortality rates and lower life expectancy of Negroes.[10] The higher fertility of Negroes, later treated in this analysis, would contribute to this differential.

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[9] Smith, Population Analysis, pp. 146-148.

[10] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 71.

The Age-Sex Pyramid

In general, the age distribution of the urban population of the United States consistently exhibits certain notable features, as do the other residential categories. The rural-farm category has an abundance of children, a low proportion of persons in the working ages, and a deficiency of oldsters. The rural-nonfarm population is composed of slightly more than average proportions of children under 15, a deficit in the persons aged 15 to 60 years, and an excess of those older than 60 years.[11] In contrast to the distribution in rural areas, the urban population is characterized by a relative scarcity of children and aged persons and by a great concentration in the productive ages.[12] The two cities under consideration in this study follow this basic pattern, but with certain interesting divergencies.

Total Population. According to Figure 19, there are relatively more children under 5 in the total population of Baton Rouge than in that of Shreveport, the respective percentages being 12.9 and 11.6. This is consistent with the greater number of people in Baton Rouge to be found in the child producing ages of 20 to 45 years. It can be noted that there is a definite swell in the contour of the pyramid during these ages, particularly for the industrial city of Baton Rouge.

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[11] Smith, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

[12] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 56.

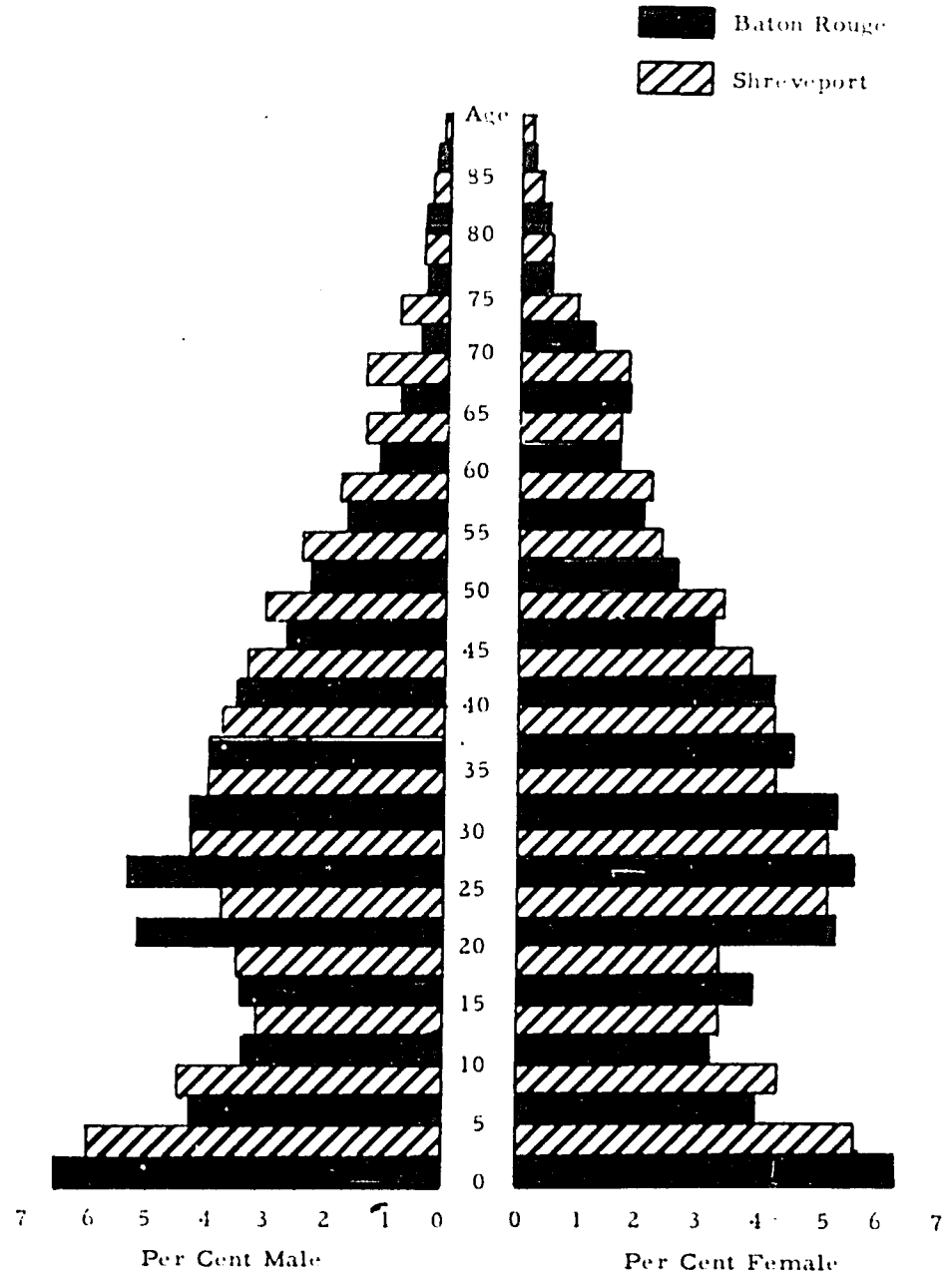

Figure 19. Age-sex pyramid for total population, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

The increased proportion in this age group is evident in Shreveport as well. The greatest difference is found in the ages between 20 and 30 years, Baton Rouge having 10.4 per cent of its population in the ages of 20 to 25 years as opposed to 9.4 per cent in Shreveport; and 11.4 per cent in the age group 25 to 30 in contrast to only 9.4 per cent in this same class for Shreveport. These differences may be explained in terms of the recent rapid industrial growth of Baton Rouge, attracting relatively large numbers of young people from outside the city, while Shreveport has depended more upon natural increase for her population growth, and thus presents the more conventional pattern in the shape of the pyramid.

The narrowing of the pyramid at the ages between 10 and 20 years, indicates the low birth rate which became especially marked during the depression period of the twenties and thirties and continued into the forties. This was a general trend, particularly in urban centers, and it is evident in both cities. It is more pronounced in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge, perhaps because at that time Baton Rouge was much less urban in character.

The pyramid presents the usual pattern of gradually decreasing breadth after the bulge between ages 20 and 30 years. This latter is likely the result of the attraction to the cities of rural residents, a common phenomenon during the productive ages. Again this expansion

between ages 20 and 30 years is less noticeable in the case of Shreveport, perhaps for economic reasons pointed out above, and likewise the decrease is less precipitate.

Beginning with age 45 years and continuing up the age ladder Shreveport's pyramid is broader, indicating a more definite predominance of the aged in the population of that city. This difference is partly attributable to the occupational patterns of the two areas. Baton Rouge shows a predominance of people in the productive ages, 20 to 45 years, particularly of males, and exceeds Shreveport's percentage in both sexes. This fact is usually evident in industrial areas and centers of rapid growth such as Baton Rouge. Shreveport, on the other hand, has been developing slowly but steadily as a trade-center, with much farm land in the surrounding territory. The jobs are more largely of the white-collar variety and do not attract as many unskilled and manual laborers from rural sections. Consistent with this condition is the greater importance in the latter city of the aging category. Shreveport has a relatively more stable population on the whole, with the age groups tending more to move normally up the time ladder, influenced somewhat less by migration or factors other than gradually increasing life expectancy, which has served to widen the top of the age-sex pyramid.

Native Whites. Examination of Figure 20, showing the age

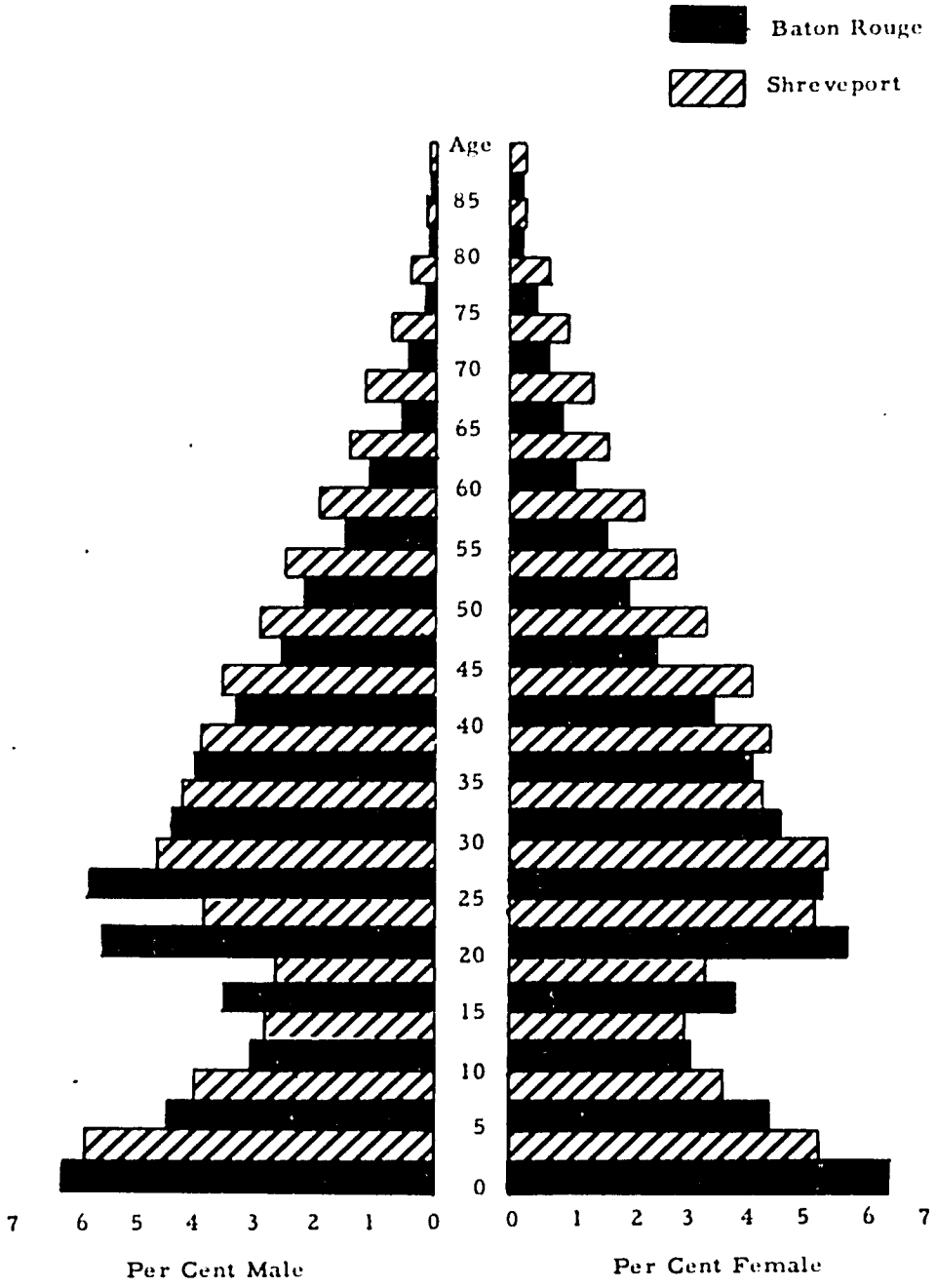

Figure 20. Age-sex pyramid for the native white population, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(Source: United States Census of Population: 1950)

classes among native whites in Baton Rouge and Shreveport, reveals the strength of Baton Rouge's productive potential and suggests the explanation for the low median age of that city. In every age class under 35 years Baton Rouge's population exceeds that of Shreveport in relative importance. In the youngest age group, under five years, Baton Rouge enumerates 13 per cent of her native white population, as opposed to 11.4 per cent in the same age group for Shreveport. The greatest excess in the former city, however, is found in the age groups 20 to 30, especially among males, which are consistently predominant in Baton Rouge. Shreveport not only has fewer people proportionately in these classes but shows a notable shortage of males. These facts are further evidence of the different industrial patterns of the two cities. Above the age of 35 years, Shreveport's age classes are proportionately more important than those of Baton Rouge, with a continued superabundance of females. The more pronounced aging of the population of Shreveport is evident with each step up the age ladder. This pattern corresponds in general to that of the total populations, but the differentials in the upper levels are more accentuated in the native white pyramid.

Foreign-born Whites. Baton Rouge and Shreveport both exhibit (Figure 21) a divergence from the normal age pyramid for foreign-born persons in urban centers in this country, which as a rule

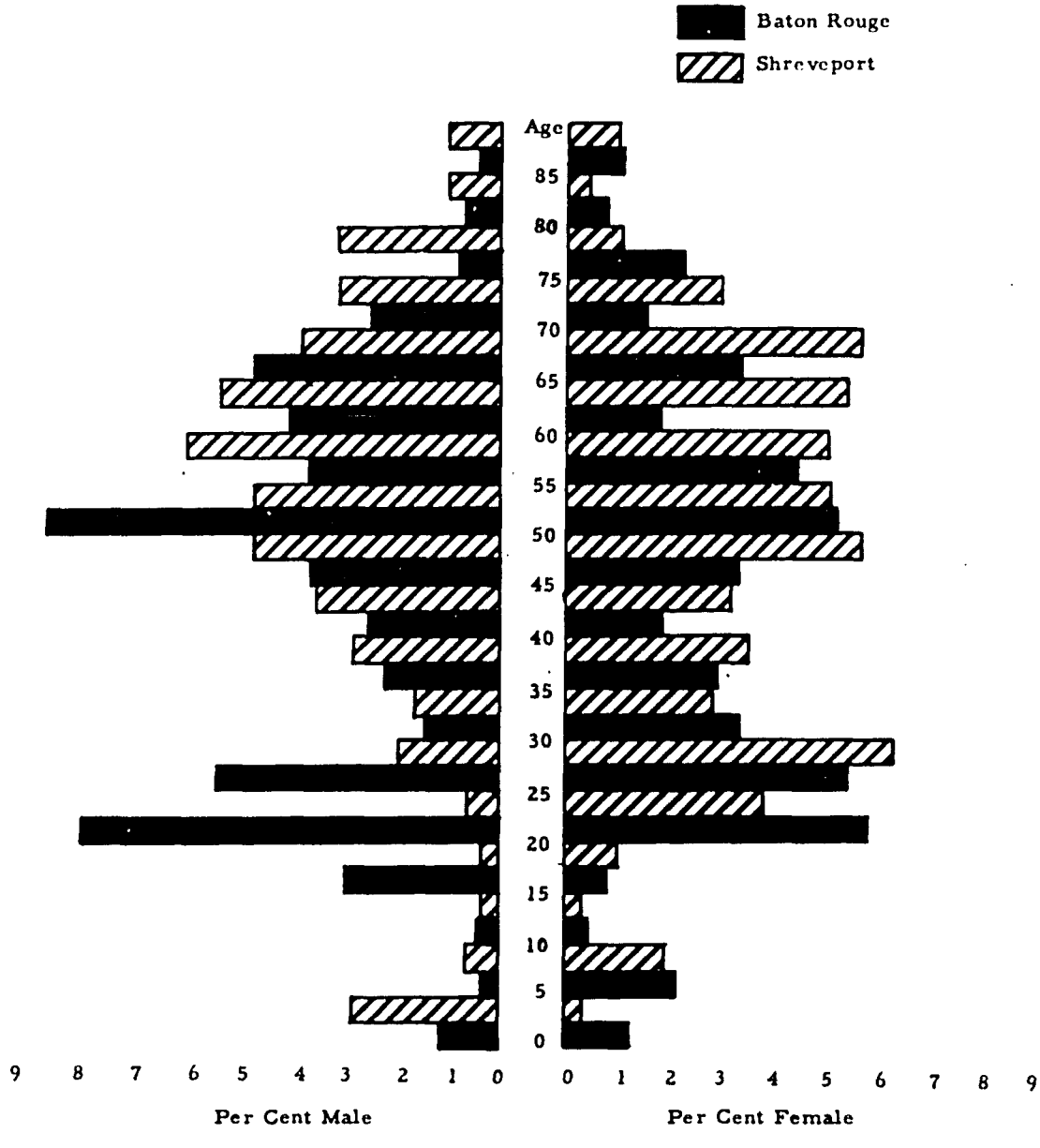

Figure 21. Age-sex pyramid for foreign-born population, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

roughly resembles a top. An unexpectedly high percentage in the low age groups is found in these cities, particularly under 10 years and between 20 and 30 years. Since World War I, immigration has markedly decreased and this group has steadily aged, as indicated in the shape of the pyramid above the age of 50 years. The high proportions of foreign-born in Baton Rouge and Shreveport in these lower age classes might possibly be explained as a result of the admission of displaced persons and foreign-born wives of veterans. In any case, the total number of foreign-born in these cities is so small as to make them relatively insignificant. This is a reflection of the aging of the population as a whole, and of the strict limitations of immigration in recent years. When they came in great numbers, the immigrants were predominantly young men in the productive ages.

Negroes. The contours of the age-sex pyramid of the Negro population show some deviations from those of the white population, (see Figure 22). The broader base indicates a relatively greater number of youngsters under five among Negroes than among whites. This holds true for both cities.

The Negro group has a higher birth rate and a higher mortality rate than the whites. Such a condition has the effect of establishing a broad base in the pyramid and gradually narrowing with the advancing ages. This would account for the greater proportion of Negroes than

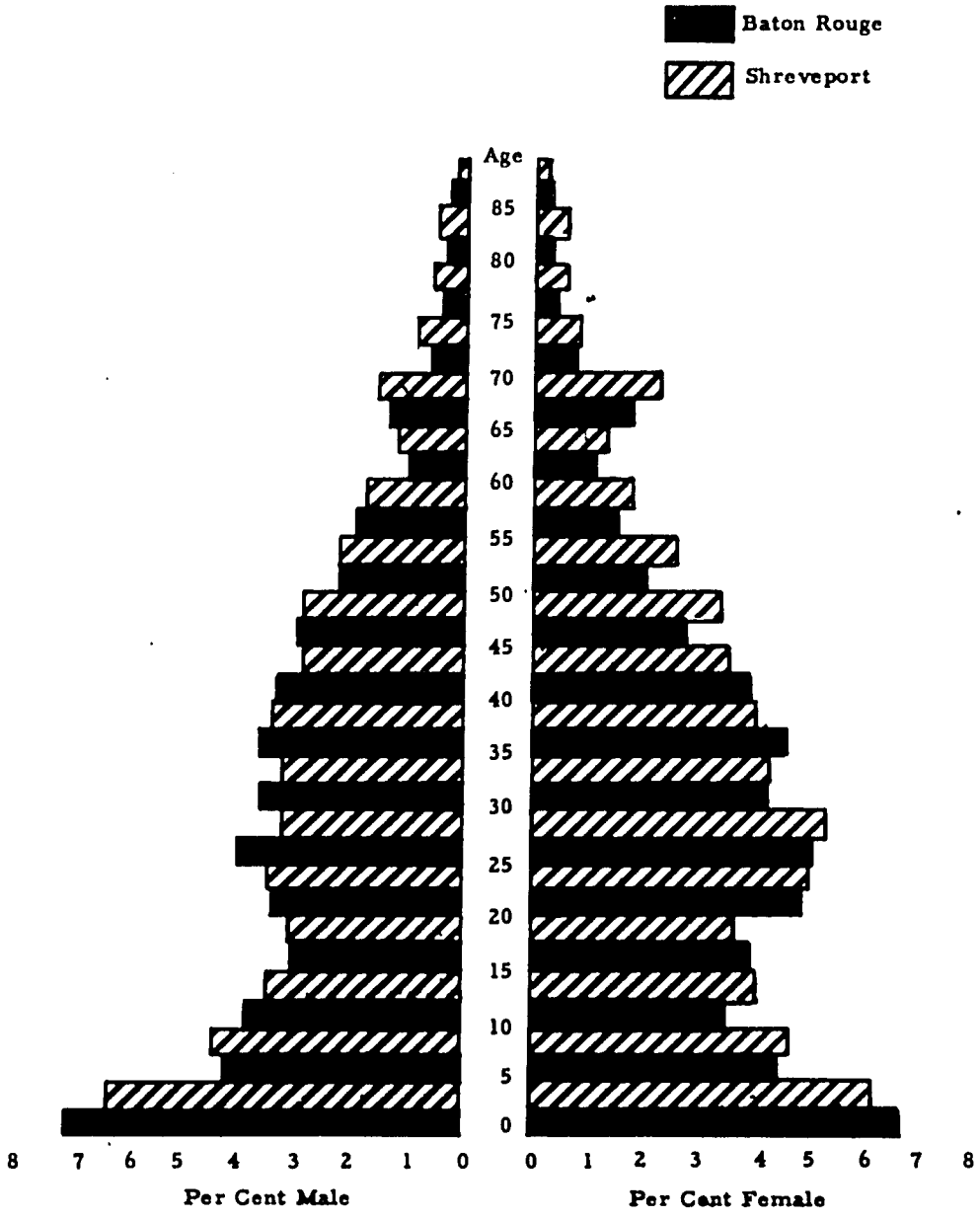

Figure 22. Age-sex pyramid for the Negro population, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

whites under the age of 5 years.[13] Also, the age-sex pyramid of the Negro population, for both cities, poses an interesting problem in that the expected decline in population as age increases does not fully obtain. A bulge occurs between the ages 65 and 70 years, greater for Shreveport, and greater for females in each of these urban areas. One probable explanation is the migration out among middle-aged Negro groups from these cities. According to Smith and Hitt there is a significant tendency for older Negroes to concentrate in rural-nonfarm territory, particularly after the age of 60 years.[14] Therefore, it could be the unusual narrowing of the age classes 55 to 64 which is more significant. However, an excess in the age class of 65 to 69 seems to be general among nonwhites, since the national age-sex pyramid shows the same surplus of persons, with a similar deficit in the 55 to 64 age group. In the case of urban areas such as these, the excess above age 65 years is more likely due to the ready availability of welfare services for the elderly Negroes and to the strong tendency in this racial group to declare themselves old enough to qualify for

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[13] T. Lynn Smith states in "A Demographic Study of the American Negro" (Social Forces, (March, 1945) XXIII, 384, that the urban Negroes lose the higher fertility which the rural members of that racial group have long maintained over native whites. That does not hold true for the urban Negro group in this study, which may reflect the general rise in urban birth rates during the past decade.

[14] Smith and Hitt, op. cit., p. 58.

the old age pension.[15] The common lack of birth certificates for persons in the ages over 60 would make such conditions possible.

The Age Profile

The relative importance of age groups in the total, white, and nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport and rural-farm Louisiana is illustrated by the use of index numbers in Figures 23, 24, and 25. The total population of Louisiana for 1950 is used as the standard. These age profiles serve to outline more clearly the differentials in the three populations. The rural-farm group of Louisiana was selected to point up rural-urban contrasts, in addition to the comparison of the two urban areas, and thus to provide the basis for a more thorough analysis of the latter profiles.

Total Population. In Figure 23 the total populations exhibit the general tendencies for rural areas to produce the youngsters and shortly lose them to the urban centers. The rural-farm curve indicates the tremendous importance of the age groups from birth to 15 years. Then there is a very low representation within the age groups which follow in the next ten to fifteen years. The age classes above 30 years begin to gain in importance but it is not until between 55 and 60 years that the 100 index is reached again. Another period of relatively heavy concentration occurs between ages 65 and 70 years, followed by a final low level of importance in the most advanced ages.

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[15] T. Lynn Smith, "The Recent Increase of Persons in the Social Security Ages," American Sociological Review, X (June, 1945), p. 414.

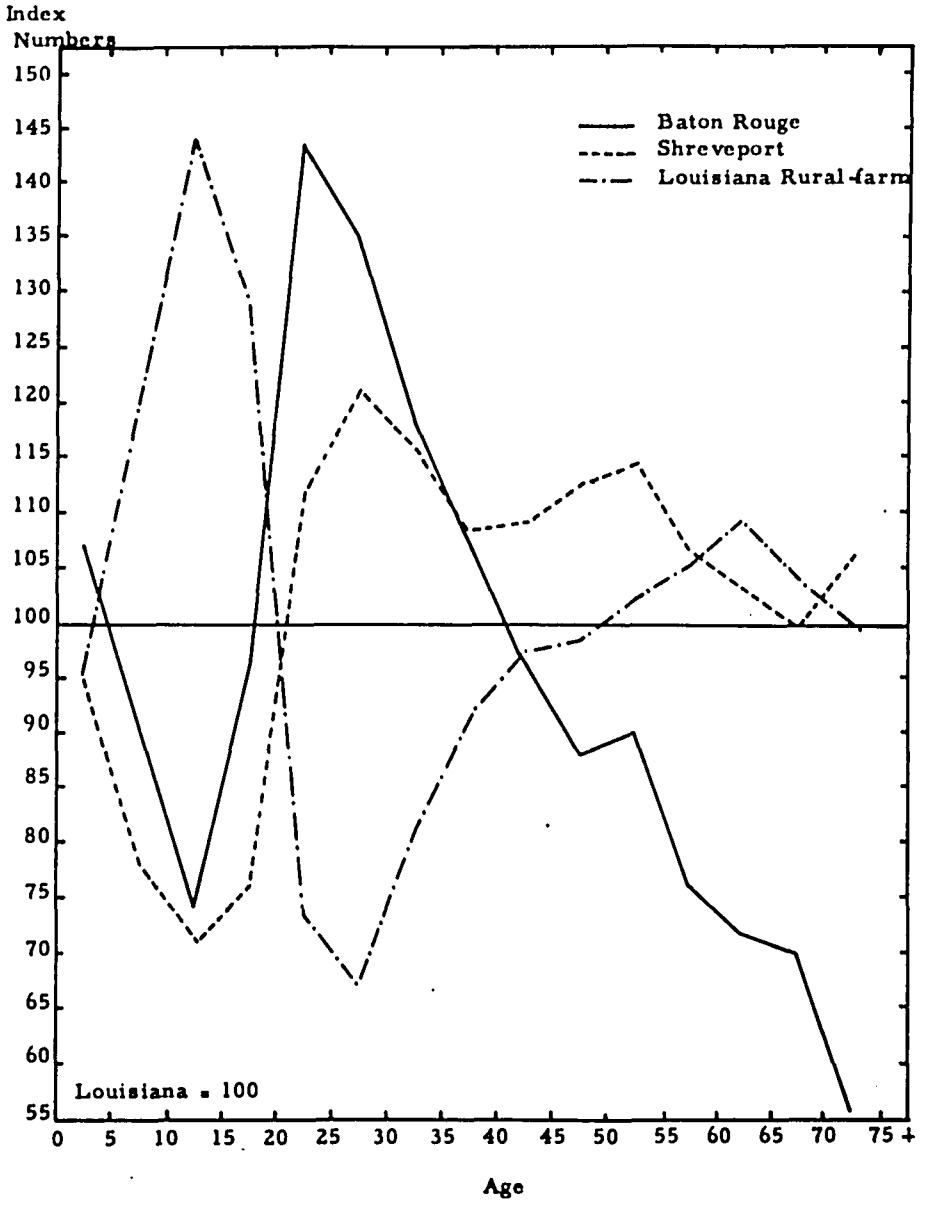

Figure 23. Index numbers showing relative importance of each age group in the total populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

In direct contrast, the urban age groups contain a high proportion of persons where the rural-farm group have the fewest. The lowest point, showing a dearth of youngsters, coincides with the highest level of importance in the early ages for the rural group. This complementary pattern indicates that the fundamental difference in the age structures of rural and urban areas is fairly constant throughout the profiles. The cities acquire their greatest concentrations of persons in the ages between 20 and 40 years, and older age classes contain notably fewer people. At around age 40, however, the profiles of the urban centers cease to follow the same patterns. Baton Rouge continues its decline in relative proportions in the age classes right on down to age 75, to reach the low index number of 56, with only one slight upward variation between the ages of 50 and 55 years.

Whites. As shown in Figure 24 the age profiles of the white populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport resemble, fairly consistently, those for the total populations. The two cities are characterized by relatively fewer youngsters under the age of 15 years than is the case in the total populations. The gain in relative importance of the young adult ages is greater for Baton Rouge than for Shreveport and it begins earlier. This implies that the white population accounts for a great part of Baton Rouge's larger proportion in the working ages. The loss in relative importance of persons over 45 years of age in Baton

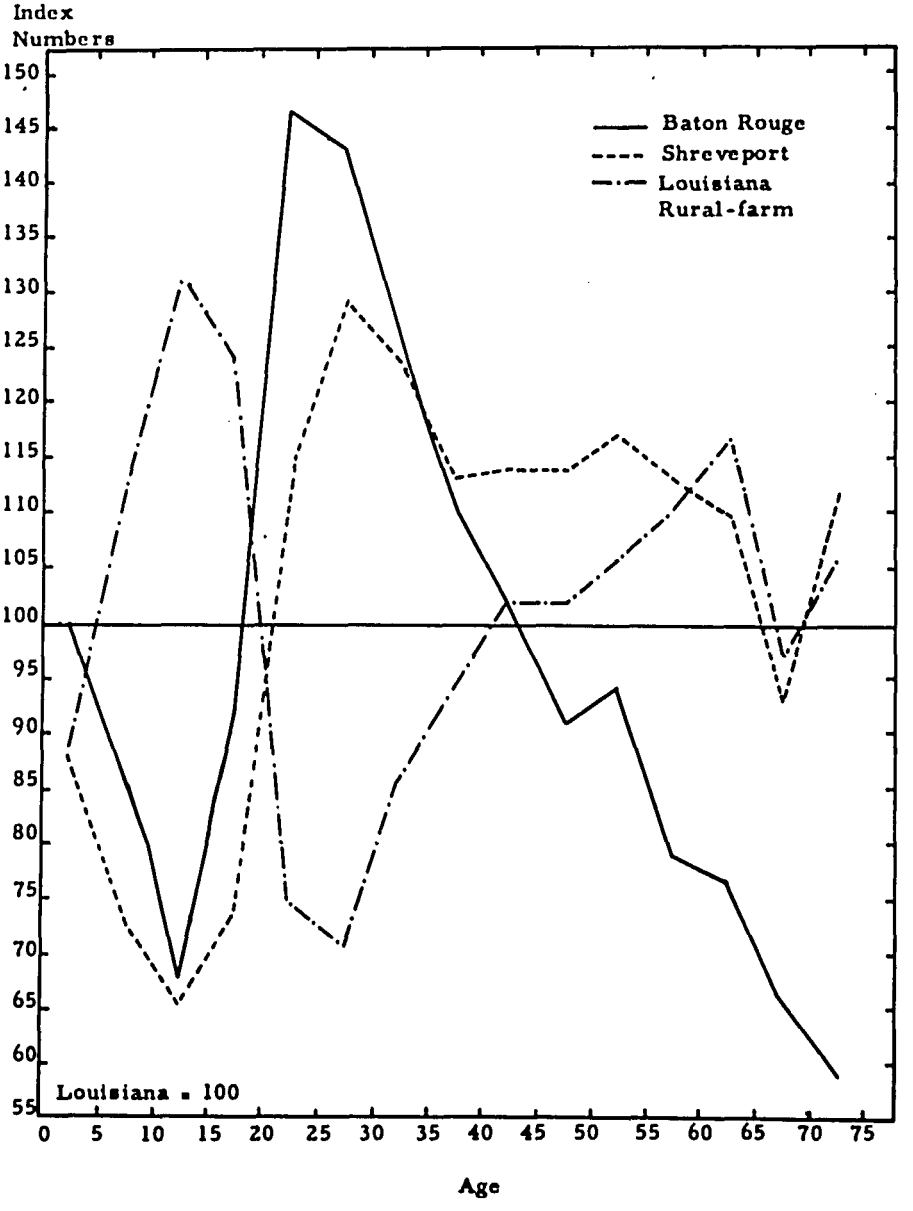

Figure 24. Index numbers showing relative importance of each age group in the white populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

Rouge follows so closely the profile in the total population that again the importance of the white group in determining the general age structure of Baton Rouge is demonstrated. Shreveport differs from the whites in Baton Rouge in that, beginning with about the age of 40 years, her population increases in importance, while that of Baton Rouge declines sharply. Shreveport does not exhibit a serious deficiency of oldsters until about the age of 65 years, which is fully twenty years later than such a condition occurs in Baton Rouge. This loss for Shreveport is slight, and of brief duration, because the curve swings back up after the age of 70 years. In fact, from the age class 60 to 65 years on, Shreveport's profile follows, with remarkable persistence, that of the Louisiana rural-farm group. The dramatic departure of Baton Rouge's white population in age structure from that of her sister city of Shreveport, serves to emphasize the differences in the relative weight of youth and age in the two urban aggregates.

Nonwhites. Examination of the age distribution of the nonwhites in the populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport and rural-farm Louisiana in Figure 25, discloses the relative importance of this race in the total populations. Smith's observation that the distinguishing features of the urban population are most highly pronounced among the Negro population[16] is not descriptive of these groups, on the whole.

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[16] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 108.

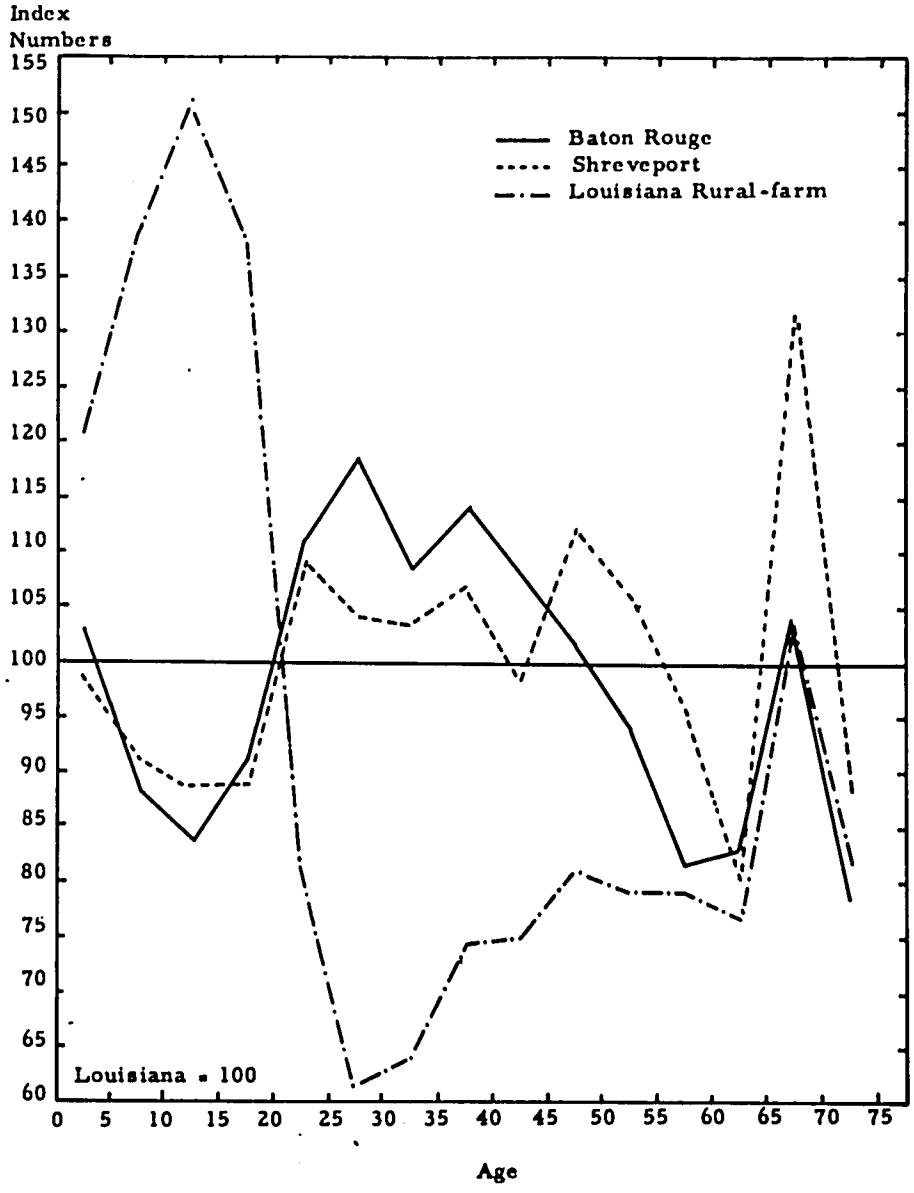

Figure 25. Index numbers showing relative importance of each age group in the nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

There is a scarcity of youngsters in both cities, but not to such a marked degree as in the total and white populations. The paucity of oldsters in the Capital City's population is readily apparent. Shreveport's age groups, on the other hand, regain some of their importance after the relatively few persons counted between the ages of 30 and 40 years. Beginning at the age class 40 to 45 years, an increase occurs until the age of 55 years, after which another decline is noted, but only down to 100. This means that Shreveport has relatively more elderly people than Baton Rouge. After 70 years there is another upward turn of the curve, again demonstrating the excess of oldsters in Shreveport.

In Shreveport's ages under 5 years the deficiency is more marked than for that age class in Baton Rouge, but between ages 10 and 20 years, Baton Rouge sustains a greater loss. The profile discloses relatively greater numbers in the young adult ages, but again, in both cities, this age class fails to approach the impressive levels of importance achieved in these ages in the total and the white populations. For instance, in Baton Rouge the index number of the white population for the ages between 25 and 30 years is 143, while that of the nonwhite group in the same ages is 118. Similarly, in Shreveport the comparable numbers are 123 for whites and 108 for nonwhites in the same age classes. In this racial group, however, Baton Rouge maintains her superiority in relative numbers in the productive ages

over Shreveport, with a high concentration of persons in the 25 to 30 age class at the index number 118 as compared to only 103 for Shreveport. The relatively greater failure of the young Negro adults of Shreveport to achieve the expected numerical importance that generally characterizes urban centers is clearly contrasted with Baton Rouge's larger numbers. This may be an indication of the existence of greater job opportunities for Negro youth in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport.

The unexpected importance of the aged Negroes in both of these cities has been mentioned as the possible result of errors in the census data. However, this condition is persistent, occurring in all census tabulations, so there must be some other explanation. The notable factor here is the extremely high concentration of nonwhites in the city of Shreveport at the ages between 65 and 75 years, as contrasted with a very low concentration in the same ages in Baton Rouge. The latter city's aged Negroes compare relatively with those of the rural-farm population, reflecting more the usual urban loss of older persons. The extremely favorable conditions of welfare provisions for Negroes over 65 years of age in Shreveport has been suggested earlier in this analysis as a possible explanation of this fluctuation in the curve. This proposed explanation is based on a brief survey made by the author on Negro housing in Shreveport, in which the above

statement seemed to be substantiated in the general attitude of the Negroes interviewed.[17]

The extremes in the profile of the Negro population are well demonstrated in the rural-farm population of Louisiana. The rural-urban contrasts are clearly pointed up, especially as to the complementary nature of the changing importance of age groups in each aggregate. The lack of a relative rise in the young adult ages in the cities to correspond with the rural decrease suggests the influence of the factor of out-migration. Perhaps the inapplicability of Smith's pattern for the urban Negro age structure in Baton Rouge and Shreveport is due to the long distance out-migration of Negroes from these cities, which is a recognized trend of the past decade. The apparent loss through migration in the younger ages seems to be relatively much greater in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge.

Age Dependency

For any community sensitive to the problems of health, education, employment and level of living, the ratio of dependents to producers in its population has vital significance. Although demographers

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[17] The unpublished findings of the study were used as a part of a general survey of Negro living conditions in Shreveport in 1950.

have established that the differential birth rate, coupled with patterns of migration, results in proportionately fewer children and aged people in urban than in rural areas,[18] the relative number in the ages of dependency varies from one urban group to another. Table IX reveals the differentials in the dependency ratios for the total, white, and nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

In the total population of Louisiana in 1950 there were 62.3 persons in the dependent class for every 100 in the productive ages. This is a considerably higher ratio than occurs in either of the urban centers considered in this study. For the total population of Baton Rouge there are 47.9 dependents for every 100 producers and in Shreveport the comparable ratio is 49.0. Table X, which gives the proportions of the aggregates which are under the age of 15 and over 64 years of age, suggests one explanation for this differential. In Baton Rouge 28.0 per cent of the total population is under 15 years of age, while in Shreveport only 26.2 per cent are in this age group. Baton Rouge has only 4.4 per cent of oldsters 65 years old and over while Shreveport's proportion in this age group is 6.7 per cent. This relative difference exists in the breakdown of the population into white and nonwhite as well. Since the dependency group in Baton Rouge

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[18] Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, p. 80.

TABLE IX

DEPENDENCY RATIOS IN THE TOTAL, WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS OF BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area	All Classes	White	Nonwhite
Baton Rouge	47.9	47.6	55.8
Shreveport	49.0	44.3	59.7

* Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 46-49, Table 33.

TABLE X

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TOTAL, WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS UNDER THE AGE OF FIFTEEN AND SIXTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area	Total Population	Number		Per Cent	
		Under 15 Years of Age	65 Years of Age and Over	Under 15 Years of Age	65 Years of Age and Over
Baton Rouge					
Total	125,629	35,153	5,528	28.0	4.4
White	90,447	24,656	3,422	27.3	3.8
Nonwhite	35,182	10,497	2,106	29.8	6.0
Shreveport					
Total	127,206	33,369	8,477	26.2	6.7
White	84,964	20,662	5,406	24.3	6.4
Nonwhite	42,242	12,707	3,071	30.1	7.3

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 46-49, Table 33.

consists of relatively more youngsters and in Shreveport it is composed mostly of the aged, the problem would assume different aspects in these two urban centers.

In the white population the ratio of dependents to producers is higher in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport (47.6 and 44.3, respectively), suggesting a greater influence upon the factor of dependency by the nonwhite group in the latter city. The proportion of nonwhites in the dependent classes, amounting to 55.8 per 100 producers in Baton Rouge and 59.7 for Shreveport, appears to support this assumption. It has been established that the city of Shreveport has a higher proportion of Negroes in its population than Baton Rouge, and that there are relatively more nonwhites in the age groups under 5 years and over 65. This combination of factors would seem to indicate that the nonwhite group significantly influences the dependency ratio.

General Conclusions

In age composition the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport conform, generally, to the expected urban distribution of relatively few children, a disproportionate number in the productive ages between 20 and 45 years, and a relative scarcity of oldsters. This pattern generally characterizes cities other than those supporting heavy industry or containing other male-centered occupations.

According to the four measures used in analyzing the age distribution of these two cities, Baton Rouge has, on the whole, a younger population than Shreveport. There are proportionately more children and young adults in Baton Rouge in every age class under 35 years than in Shreveport. Beyond that age, Shreveport has proportionately more people in every age group, with a notable excess in the ages over 60 years. These features are characteristic of the total and of the native white segments of the population. Among the foreign-born whites for both cities there is a general concentration in the ages above 45 years, with a slight predominance of males. However, this group is too small to be of significance. The Negro segment presents a somewhat different age distribution, being younger on the whole than whites, with an unexpected excess among the persons 65 years old and older. The explanations that have been suggested here for the latter feature of the data are not readily verifiable.

In comparison with the rural-farm population of Louisiana, the two cities display the expected rural-urban contrasts except in the excessive proportions of the aging groups in the city of Shreveport. This surplus occurs in all the population categories of that city but is especially marked in the nonwhite group.

CHAPTER VII

THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE SEXES

Most populations exhibit some imbalance between the sexes. The social or economic conditions which result in a relative excess of either males or females are in turn affected by the results of such disproportions. According to Hitt, the disparities between the sexes in a population are the result of, "one or more of these factors: (1) an imbalance between the sexes at birth, (2) sex selectivity of death, and (3) a sex selectivity of migration."[1] These factors, when identified, form the basis for making certain limited predictions.

An imbalance between the sexes in a given population influences many of the other demographic characteristics of that group. The birth rate and the death rate are affected, as are the marriage rate, family structure, religion, and occupational distribution. In a monogamous society, such as ours, a heavy preponderance of either sex is sharply reflected in the area of marriage and family living.[2] For example, in a group having an overabundance of men, there will

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[1] Homer L. Hitt, "Population Problems," in T. Lynn Smith and Associates, Social Problems, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955) p. 46.

[2] Ibid.

be greater opportunity for women to enter marriage, but fewer children in proportion to the total population. Where men are greatly in excess, a higher per cent of women who are unfit for parenthood are likely to be married, thus affecting the death rate.[3]

The scarcity of women is largely responsible for the typical social relationships found in frontier areas, regions experiencing severe climatic conditions, mining camps and certain types of military bases. Similarly, a surplus of women would influence school attendance, the amount of prostitution, extent of women employed outside the house, and other social factors. "To a high degree the tempo of life in any community is a function of the sex ratio among its population."[4]

The Data

One would expect accurate data on the sex of the persons comprising a population to be readily available to census enumerators. Sex has a definite quality which, unlike age, does not change in time. Demographers have learned, however, that such apparent simplicity is deceptive. Due to subjective influences, which the census-taking machinery cannot readily detect, certain inaccuracies have appeared in the data.

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[3] Thompson, Population Problems, p. 92.

[4] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 61.

According to the census estimate, 4.4 per cent of the children under five are not reported in the 1950 census as compared with about 7.6 per cent in 1940.[5] Since there is usually a predominance of males in the early ages, this will erroneously reflect a shortage in that sex. Males between the ages of 18 and 24 years also appear to have been relatively underenumerated. And whereas another deficit occurs in the age range 55 to 64 years of both sexes, it is more than offset by an excess over the expected number in the age group 65 years old and over. Since there is no reliable explanation for these fluctuations, it must be concluded that they are due to errors in the census data.[6]

A persistent phenomenon in sex data is the misstatement of women's ages in all population categories. Demographers have long recognized the fact that there are always more females counted in the 20 to 29 age group than normal progression up the age ladder would indicate.[7] This excess is followed by a deficit in enumerated females during the next 30 years, with a marked expansion in the ages 65 years and over. Although readily explainable in terms of the accent on youth

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[5] United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin PC-18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office 1952) p. VII.

[6] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, pp. 64, 65.

[7] T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indexes," Metron, XIII, (1939) 95-108.

and the "romantic complex" in our culture, such errors render the population indexes less reliable and eliminate the dependability of the curve showing sex ratios by age.

Still another type of incorrect reporting involves frequent instances of misinformation from Negro groups. As a general rule, the sex ratio in the very early ages is tabulated as low among the Negro population. Since there is no basis for believing that any such racial differences exist at conception, it would seem that these reports are in error. However, the high infant mortality rate among members of this racial group may account, in part, for the data. Smith concludes that the low sex ratio for Negroes rests upon the low sex ratio at birth (which is about 103.5 for Negroes as compared with 106.1 among whites) and he suggests that the high proportions of stillborn births in this group may be a significant factor.[8] It has been established that the sex ratio among stillbirths is excessively high, varying from 120 to 170.

The Sex Ratio

A well-known and useful index in analyzing the balance between the sexes is the sex ratio. In its most common form it is computed by dividing the number of males in a selected population by the number of females and multiplying the quotient by 100, thus determining the number

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[8] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 124.

of males per 100 females. If there is an excess of males, the sex ratio will be over 100. Conversely, if there are more females, it falls under 100. It should always be borne in mind that errors in the data influence the accuracy and limit the usefulness of the sex ratio.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

The sex distribution pattern in cities displays certain typical variations from those of broader populations such as the state or nation. And the sex composition is dependent to a considerable extent upon the type of function which the individual urban center represents. Demographers point out that cities supporting heavy industry attract males in search of jobs, while the "white collar" centers attract more females. Also, residential cities and "retirement" cities attract women and older people. These conditions influence the sex ratio.

The Total Populations

Although sex ratios by age must be considered cautiously and tentatively, they may offer valuable insight. From the charted curves in Figure 26 it is possible to examine the sex ratios by age in the total populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport and the rural-farm segment of Louisiana, for 1950. The sex ratio in 1950 for Baton Rouge was 95.3 and in Shreveport it was 88.3; while for the rural-farm group it reached 105.6. These three ratios indicate that the differential proportion of

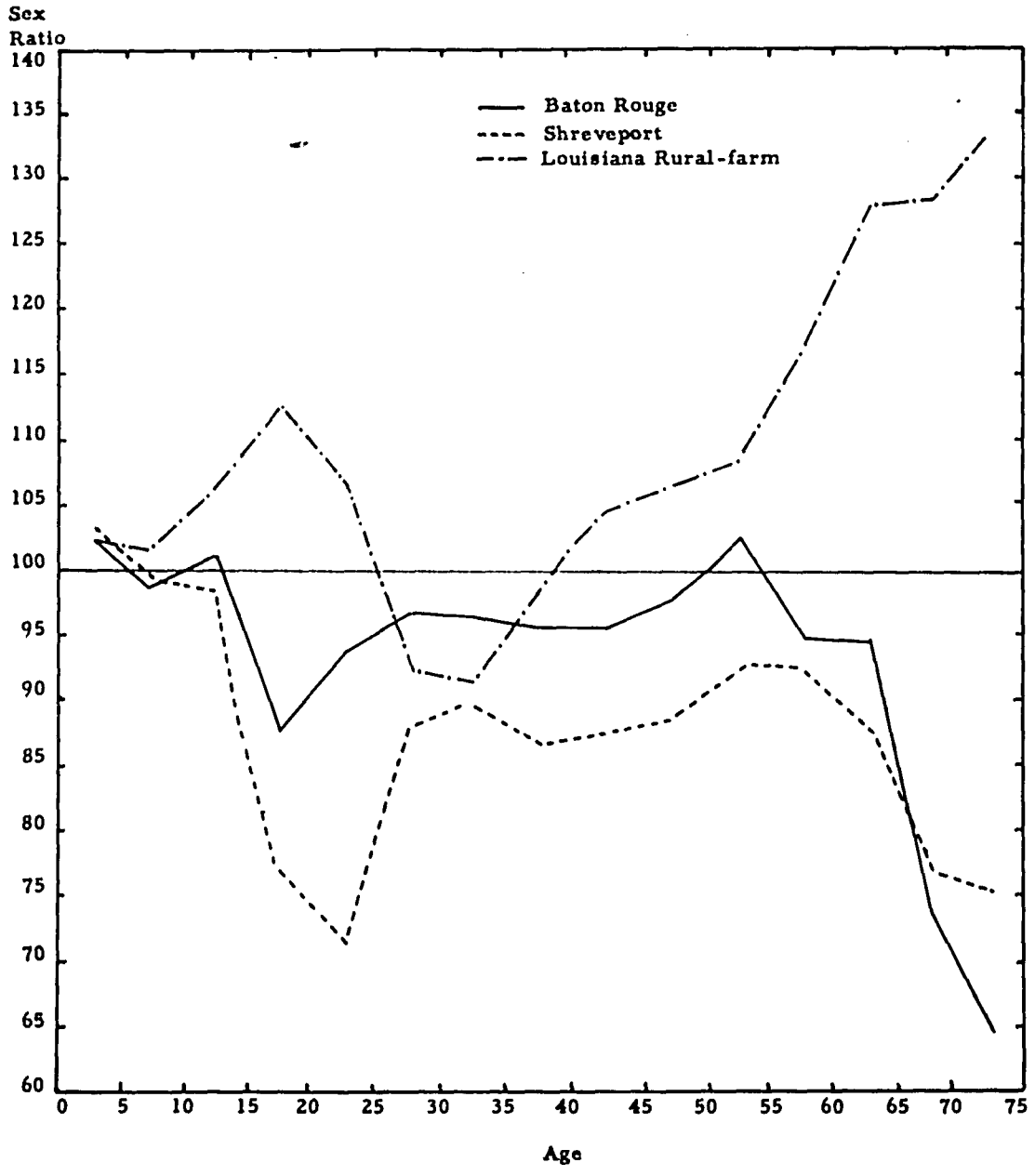

Figure 26. Sex ratios by age for the total populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

males to females is almost as great between the two urban aggregates as it is between the cities and the rural-farm group. It further suggests that the two cities vary widely in their characteristic functions.

The sex ratio for all three populations is well above 100 in the age class 0 to 5 years but soon thereafter the cities begin to display a different pattern. By the age of 10 years the number of urban males to 100 females starts a decline in importance which continues, generally, until the ages of 20 to 24 years. From the earliest ages, however, the loss in relative importance of males is greater in the city of Shreveport than in Baton Rouge, and the divergence continues throughout the age span up to the level of 70 years. During the age class 10 to 14, for example, while Shreveport's sex ratio has dropped below 100 to 98.6, that of Baton Rouge retains the relatively high level of 101.0 males per 100 females. Whereas both urban groups show a significant decline in the sex ratio between the ages 15 and 19 years, that of Shreveport is much lower, being 77.2 as compared with 87.4 for Baton Rouge. This decline in the sex ratio among young persons is apparently a result of the typically low urban fertility which persisted until the early forties.[9] Baton Rouge probably acquired a greater proportion in the very young industrial ages through in-migration of males, or

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[9] Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, American Urban Communities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951) p. 66.

through in-migration of rural families containing more children in the young ages. In both cities, at the age of 20 years, a lessening in the deficiency of males is notable and continues through the age of 30 years. This is possibly the reflection of the usual urbanward migration of young people and emphasizes the stronger attraction of Baton Rouge for males. Also contributing to the reasons for the higher sex ratio in Baton Rouge is the fact that the chemical industries of that city employ males, primarily in wage jobs.

In both Baton Rouge and Shreveport there is a comparable rise and fall in the proportion of males per 100 females throughout the age classes from 30 years on, with a consistently lower sex ratio in Shreveport all the way up the age ladder. In most instances in Shreveport the range is from seven to ten points below that of Baton Rouge. For example, the sex ratio in the age class 30 to 35 years is 96.1 for Baton Rouge and 89.1 for Shreveport; at about the age 45 years it is 95.5 and 87.5, respectively; and at age 65 it is 95.4 and 87.7, respectively. A fluctuation occurs in the age class 50 to 54 where the sex ratio of Baton Rouge reaches the surprising level of 102.4, while the corresponding ratio for Shreveport is only 92.4. In Shreveport the smaller proportions of men in these middle ages express the prevailing femininity of that city which characterizes the sex ratio from the age of ten years upward.

Rural-Urban Differentials. In further reference to Figure 26, a revealing comparison of the proportion of males to 100 females can be made between the rural-farm and the urban groups. A careful

examination of these data points up rural-urban differentials and at the same time suggests explanations. One may safely assume that when a lower than usual sex ratio in the rural-farm area is matched by a higher than usual sex ratio in comparable age classes of the nearby cities, it is chiefly because of the familiar demographic pattern of rural-urban migration, with its characteristic age and sex selective factors. This reciprocal relationship is more evident between Baton Rouge and rural-farm group than for Shreveport, in the young adult ages.

In the rural-farm population of Louisiana, for example, sex ratios are very high in the age class 10 to 20 years, from whence they then begin to descend, maintaining a level higher than 100 up to the ages 25 to 29 years. The same ages of 10 to 20 years reflect a loss of importance in the relative number of males for the cities. Baton Rouge reaches a low sex ratio of 87.4 in the ages 15 to 19 years where the rural-farm is extremely high at 112.9. Shreveport has a still lower ratio of 77.2 males to females, in this age class, but it continues the drop. The lowest sex ratio for Shreveport is that of 71.4 for the ages 20 to 24 years, which contrasts with 106.5 for the rural-farm group of Louisiana, while Baton Rouge has 93.5. Again in the ages above 55 years a marked divergence is noted between the sex ratios of the rural-farm and urban populations. The high proportion of males is as definite for the rural group as the low proportion is consistent among the urban aggregates, but with Baton Rouge's change in the ratio more precipitate.

The obvious explanation would indicate the effects of migration and longevity.

The White Population

Among the whites of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and the rural-farm population of Louisiana, the proportion of males to 100 females is 99.1, 90.7 and 107.9, respectively. Figure 27 reveals that the three groups display widely different patterns in sex composition. Although in general the curves for sex ratios in the white populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and rural-farm Louisiana exhibit fluctuations in the same age classes as those in the total populations, the variations are somewhat more pronounced among the whites. White males are of lesser numerical importance in Shreveport in comparison with Baton Rouge from the earliest ages, than is the case in the total populations. And whereas Baton Rouge's sex ratio for whites remains, for the most part, above 100 between the ages of 25 and 55 years, that of Shreveport for the same age classes never rises above 97.7. The greatest contrast in this category between the sex ratios of the two cities occurs at the age class 20 to 24, when Baton Rouge's proportion of males to 100 females is 100.3 and Shreveport's corresponding ratio is 74.8. This again probably reflects the greater attraction of Baton Rouge's industrial economy for young men.

Another differential in sex ratios among whites occurs in the

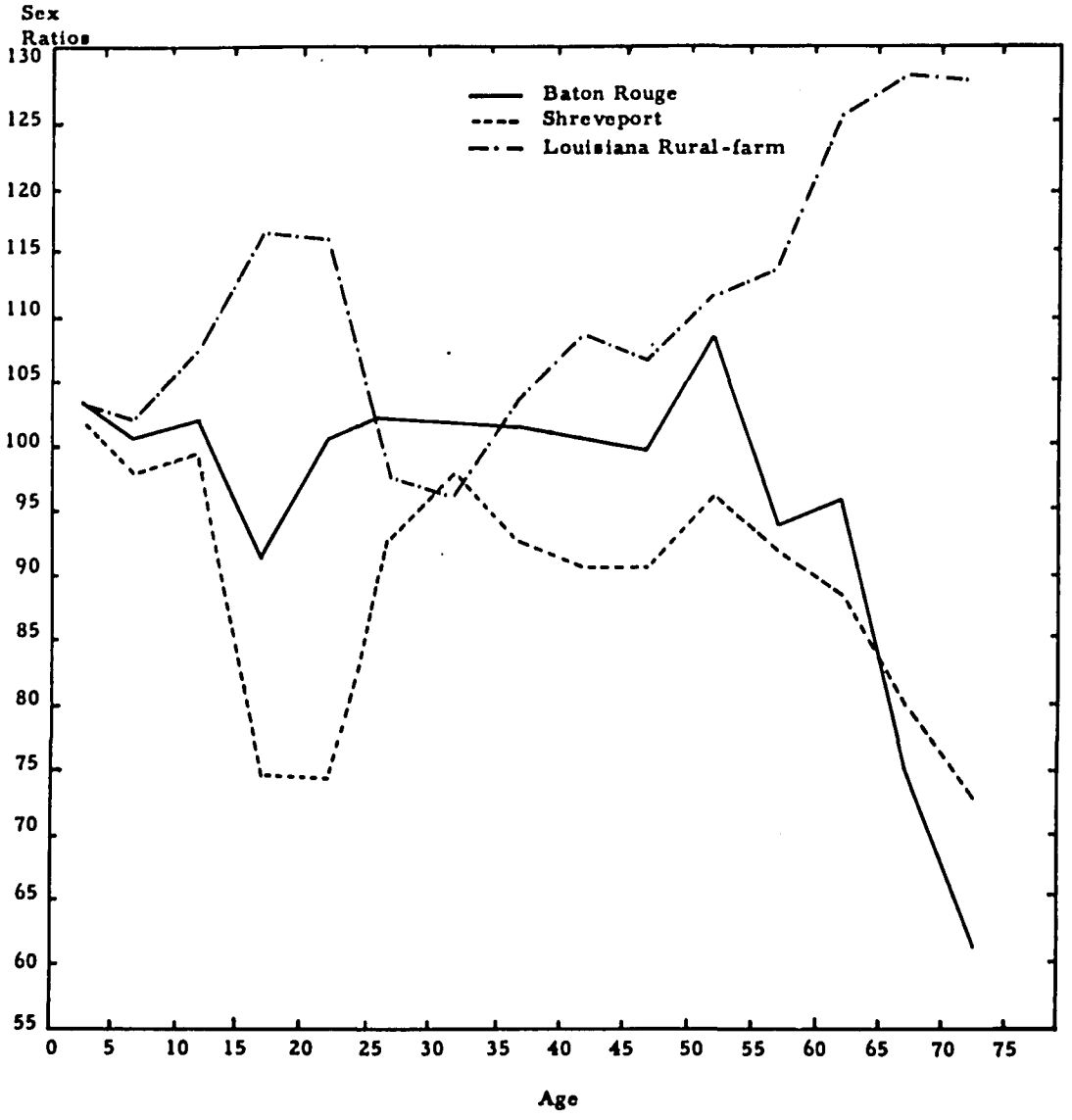

Figure 27. Sex ratios by age for the white populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

age class 50 to 54 years. In this instance Baton Rouge has 108.5 males per 100 females, while Shreveport has only 96.6. The sex selective factor in industry may continue to be operative here. Still a further divergence is found at the ages of 70 to 74 years. This time, however, Shreveport has the greater predominance of males with a sex ratio of 72.2 as compared with 61.0 for Baton Rouge. The importance of the aged in general in Shreveport's population may account for this differential. As pointed out earlier, that city seems to have a stronger attraction for aging citizens, because they constitute a considerably larger proportion of the population of Shreveport than Baton Rouge.

Rural-Urban Differentials. The contrasts between the white urban populations and that of the rural-farm are similar to those which were noted for the total populations. There is a greater predominance of males per 100 females in the ages between 10 and 24 years among rural-farm whites than is true for the total population. This makes for stronger contrasts between the rural-farm sex ratios for those ages and those in the cities.

For the most part, these curves describe the same general patterns as do those for the total populations (see Figure 26) which may be taken as an indication that the white population more nearly represents the norm in each particular aggregate as a whole.

The Nonwhite Population

Figure 28 compares the nonwhite groups in the populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and rural-farm Louisiana. This figure provides some features different from all of the selected groups above. According to Jaffee, a given population should have a slight excess of males at the younger age groups, perhaps approximately equal numbers at the middle age groups, and an excess of females in the older age groups; but due consideration must always be given to historical circumstances which may have operated to produce non-conformity.[10] The "historical circumstances" weigh quite heavily in any analysis of the Negro population.[11] It is readily observable that the sex ratio for nonwhites is predominantly low, even in the rural-farm segment, except in the very young and old ages. Although there are proportionately more Negro males per 100 females in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport, the only ages at which males actually predominate in the Capital City are those below 15 years and those between 55 and 60 years. In Shreveport, the sex ratio for nonwhites is remarkably low after the age of ten years. In the latter city the ages 20 to 25 years show an unusually low ratio of

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[10] A. J. Jaffee, Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951) p. 89.

[11] The terms "Negro" and "Nonwhite" are used interchangeably in this analysis.

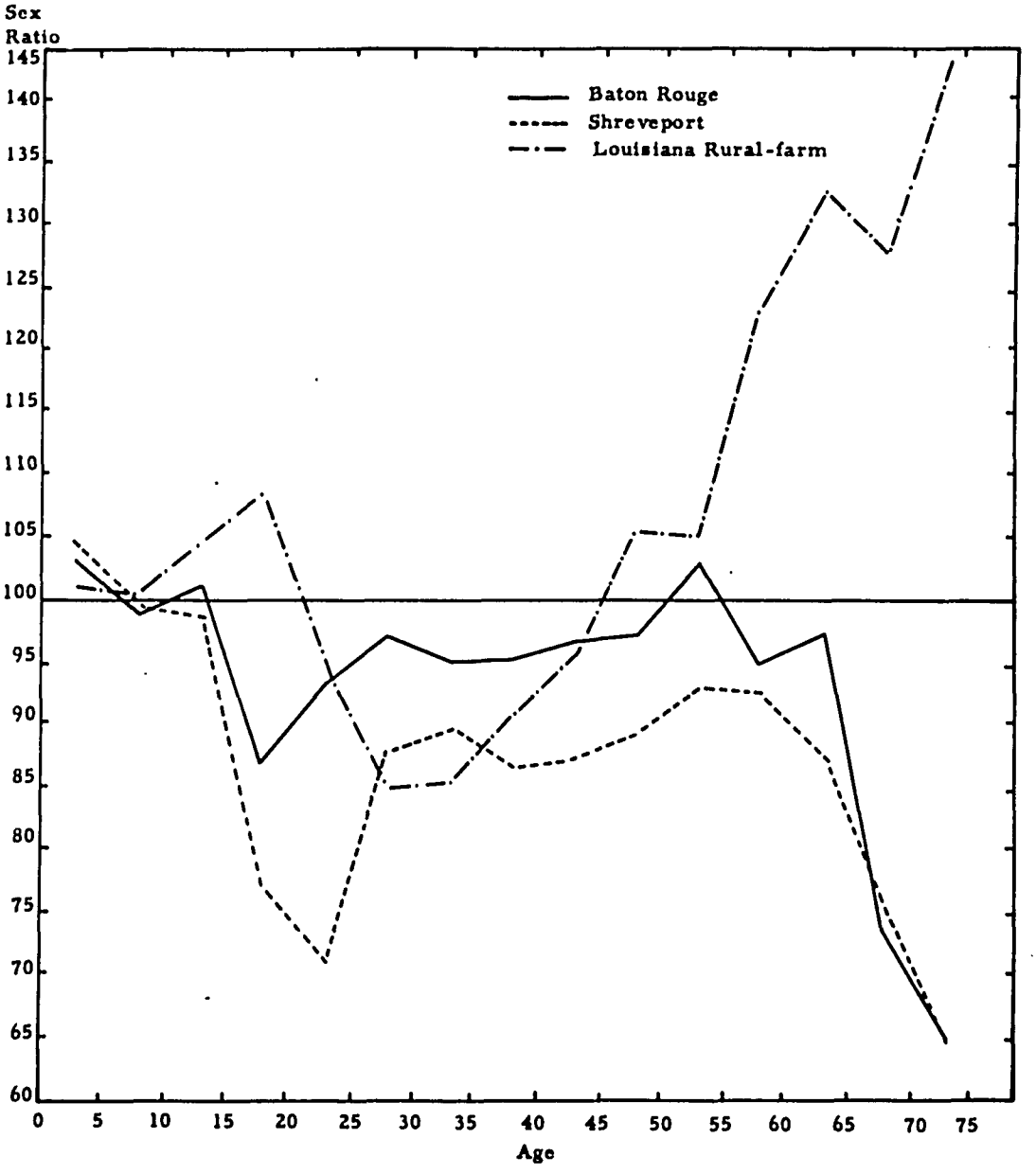

Figure 28. Sex ratios by age for the nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and Louisiana rural-farm: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

only 71.2 males to 100 females, and the ratio is never higher than 92.3 at any time thereafter. In other words, in the nonwhite group, even though Baton Rouge displays a generally low sex ratio, Shreveport is markedly lower in the proportion of males to females.

These curves emphasize the femininity of the nonwhite population which is a general characteristic of that group, but it is more pronounced in these two urban areas, particularly in Shreveport, than in the rural-farm population. There is a rise in sex ratios in the ages 55 to 60 years in both the urban and rural-farm groups, and it extends above 100 in the latter. This tendency toward high proportions of men in the population at these late ages has no obvious explanation other than that it is due to errors in the data for nonwhites. If the misstatement of women's ages is a factor here it affects a different age group from that of the whites, coming much later. It is possible that some of the members of this racial group were on the move at the time of the census, providing the possibility that some may have been counted twice while others were missed altogether. The favorable conditions relative to securing welfare assistance by placing themselves in a suitable age class, mentioned earlier, may also be a factor in the Shreveport sex ratio; while favorable employment conditions for nonwhites obtain to a greater extent in Baton Rouge, thereby influencing the sex ratio in that city.

The Other-Urban Population

Figure 29 compares the sex ratios by age in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport with the other-urban population of Louisiana. The ratios were determined for the other-urban population of the state by subtracting the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport from the total state urban population. It is interesting to note that the curve for the other-urban sex ratios falls between those of the two cities which are central to this analysis, and that the three curves describe a broadly similar pattern. All of these urban areas exhibit the low sex ratios which would be expected when the rural influence is removed. From a sex ratio of 96.7 for the total population of Louisiana[12] there is a drop to 92.0 for the other-urban group. This falls between the Baton Rouge sex ratio for all ages of 95.3 and that of Shreveport, 88.3.

It is clear that Baton Rouge's population more nearly approximates the norm of the state's other-urban population in the proportion of males to females, while Shreveport's population falls well below the average for other-urban groups in Louisiana. This is still another indication of the less dynamic character of the population of the latter city. Shreveport is possessed of a predominantly white-collar, trade-center type of employment, which is selective of females; also of a normally

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[12] United States Census of Population: 1950. Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. 28, Table 15.

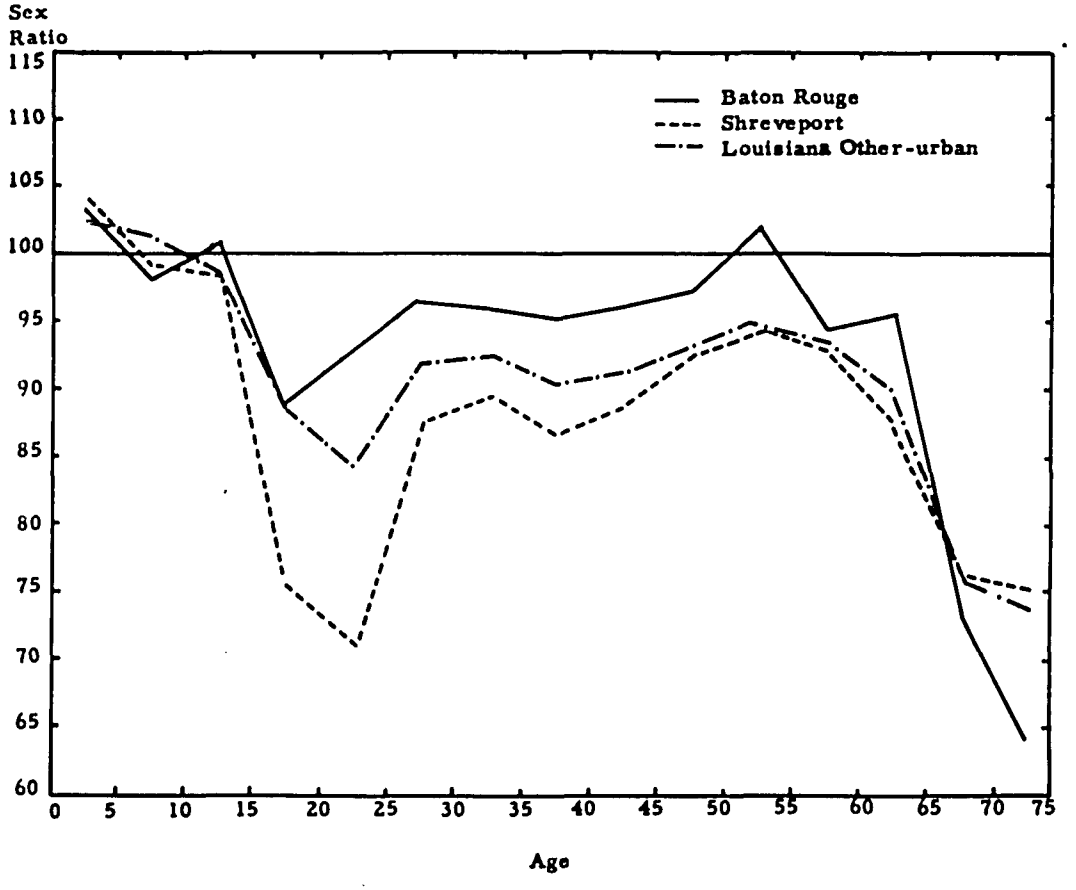

Figure 29. Sex ratios by age for Baton Rouge, Shreveport and other-urban populations of Louisiana: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

aging population that reflects the greater longevity of females. However, in the ages over 60 years, Shreveport more nearly approximates the pattern in other-urban areas than does Baton Rouge. In fact, Shreveport's sex distribution coincides almost exactly with that of the other-urban segment from the ages of 60 to 70 years. In the advanced ages, Shreveport has a higher sex ration and Baton Rouge a considerably lower sex ratio than the other-urban population. It is possible that the in-migration of young males to Baton Rouge may be counterbalanced by an out-migration of the industrial male workers at the retirement age or because of high industrial mortality around middle age.

In general, it can be noted that the sex ratios in Baton Rouge and Shreveport display more extremes than the more even curve of the other-urban segment. In the main, however, the three groups exhibit more similarities than they do differences, with the city of Baton Rouge maintaining a predominance of males distinctly higher than the other two populations throughout the age span.

Comparison of New Orleans with Baton Rouge and Shreveport

For many decades New Orleans was the "queen city of the South" and Louisiana's only important urban center. Because of the great significance of New Orleans in the history of urban development in Louisiana, it is deemed useful to consider the population of that city in relation to the two younger urban centers in this analysis. In 1940 New Orleans

contained approximately one-half of the urban population of the state, but by 1950 only two-fifths (or 41.8 per cent) of Louisiana's urban citizens lived within its boundaries.[13] Since Baton Rouge and Shreveport represent in location roughly the traditional geographic divisions of North Louisiana and South Louisiana, it might prove to be sociologically significant if one of these cities is found to resemble more nearly the "Crescent City."

In Figure 30 the sex ratios of Louisiana's three largest urban centers, New Orleans, Shreveport, and Baton Rouge, may be compared. It would indeed seem that in some respects the two South Louisiana cities of Baton Rouge and New Orleans conform to a common pattern. Although Baton Rouge's sex ratio is consistently higher than that of New Orleans or Shreveport, it rises and falls in the same general age groups as does that of the Crescent City. Both Baton Rouge and New Orleans have a higher sex ratio than Shreveport during the early productive ages.

All three cities have relatively low proportions of males in the ages after 60 years. It is notable, however, that from about 35 years of age upward, Shreveport coincides more nearly with New Orleans in sex ratios than does Baton Rouge. The Capital City maintains a much

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[13] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, pp. 30, 31.

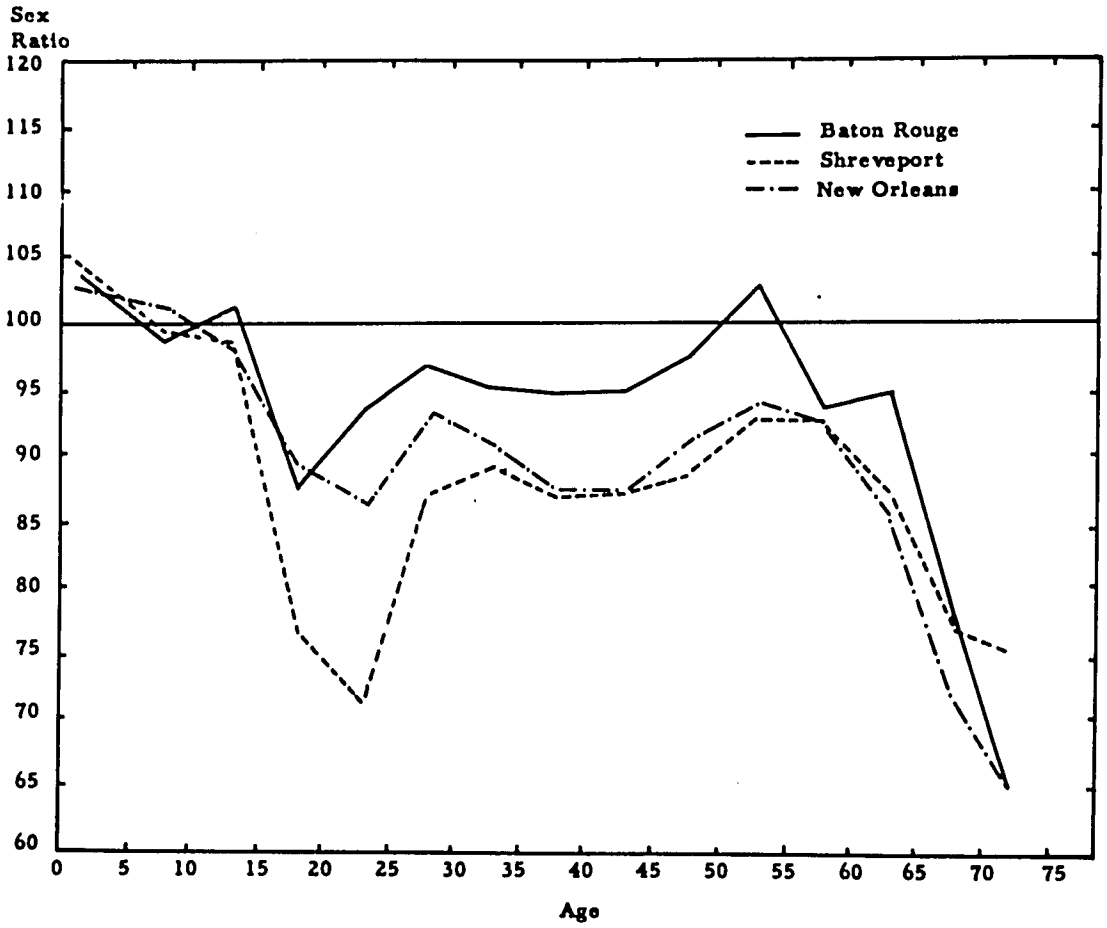

Figure 30. Sex ratio by age for the total populations of Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and New Orleans: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

higher ratio of males to females for all ages above 20 years than the other two cities. This tendency suggests that the significant contrast between the sex ratios of the dynamic population of Baton Rouge and those of the more "settled" urban centers of Shreveport and New Orleans is attributable to the sex selectivity of males by industry and more employment opportunities in Baton Rouge.

White-Nonwhite Differentials

By consulting Figures 31 and 32, it is possible to consider further the difference between sex ratios in the white and nonwhite segments of the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport. The charted curves for the whites clearly portray the greater importance of males in Baton Rouge over that of Shreveport in all ages, but particularly among those between 20 and 55 years. The scarcity of young white males is extreme in Shreveport between the ages of 10 and 20 years, and this paucity of males is more exaggerated than that of Baton Rouge, in all ages. Among nonwhites the sex composition of the two urban groups follows more nearly a common pattern than is true among whites. It is noteworthy that the sex ratio is higher for Shreveport in the ages under five years, but from that point, as with the whites, Baton Rouge maintains a higher proportion of males in her Negro population. However, the comparatively greater surplus of males in Baton Rouge over that of Shreveport is much less distinct among the Negroes than among

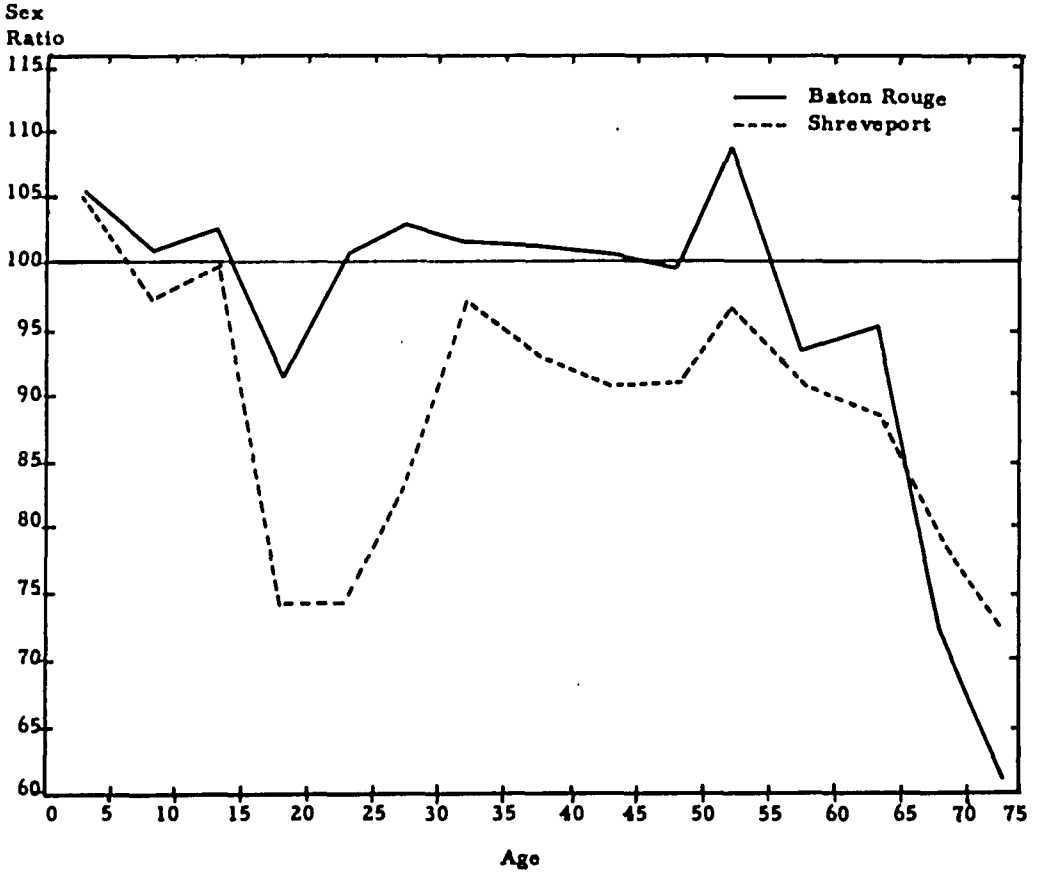

Figure 31. Sex ratios by age for the white populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

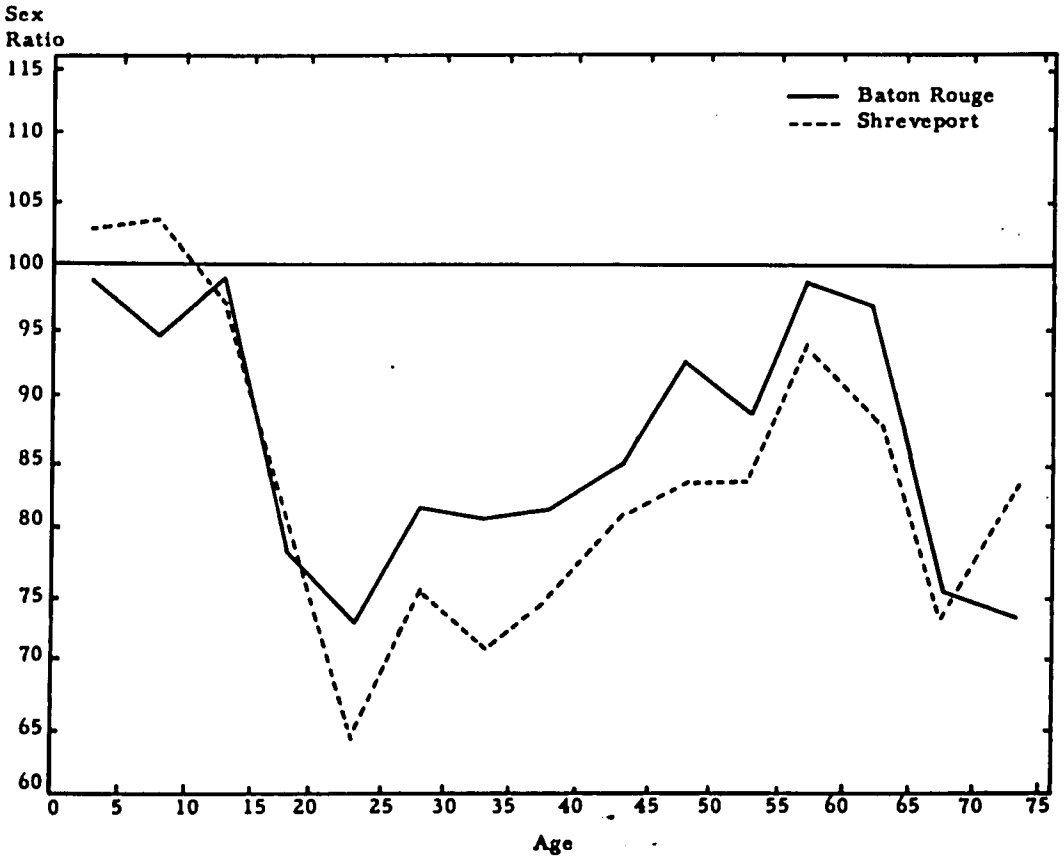

Figure 32. Sex ratios by age for the nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

the whites. Or, to put it another way, the nonwhite segments of both of these urban populations are far more feminine than the white segments.

Table XI demonstrates that the trend in both cities between 1930 and 1940 has been toward a decreasing sex ratio among the native whites. The shift upward in Baton Rouge's sex ratio in the white population between 1940 and 1950 is undoubtedly related to the sharp rise in industry and to the increase in numbers in the total population of that city. The number of white males for each 100 females in Shreveport follows a consistent downward slope. The foreign-born sex ratios are not significant because the total number in each population is negligible (less than one per cent).

The change in the Negro populations, which reflect generally a higher sex ratio in 1950 than in 1940, is probably due to the economic factor. Employment opportunities are much more favorable for Negroes than in previous decades. The attractions of welfare assistance, also, add to the security and convenience of urban life for Negro males in 1950. The higher sex ratio for this race in Baton Rouge over Shreveport is doubtless influenced by the demands of industry for more workers in the blue-collar type of occupation, while Shreveport employers require persons with greater technical training.

TABLE XI

SEX RATIOS, BY RACE AND NATIVITY, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1930-1950*

Area	Year	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
Baton Rouge	1930	93.5	130.3	78.1
	1940	92.8	120.1	79.1
	1950	98.5	144.8	86.1
Shreveport	1930	95.5	122.9	81.5
	1940	93.5	129.2	79.6
	1950	90.6	97.2	83.5

*Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940; Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, pp. 422-423. Table 32. United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 49-50, Table 34.

General Conclusions

On the whole, the sex ratios in the cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport display the usual rural-urban and racial contrasts, plus variations in each municipality that are the result of its unique occupational and growth pattern.

The sex ratios are consistently higher in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport throughout the age span. Both cities exhibit a low sex ratio between the ages of 15 and 25 years, followed by a much higher ratio of males to females in the young adult ages between 25 and 39 years. Baton Rouge continues predominantly masculine until the ages above 65 years. Shreveport is predominately feminine in the ages over 40 years. The sex ratios are high among the foreign-born and low among Negroes in both cities.

In comparison with other-urban populations of the state, and with New Orleans, Baton Rouge has generally a higher sex ratio and Shreveport a lower sex ratio than the others. In the early productive ages the populations of Baton Rouge and New Orleans both have a higher sex ratio than does that of Shreveport. After the age of 60 years all of the urban areas have low ratios of males to females. The two urban centers of Shreveport and New Orleans are much more similar in the sex ratios of their populations above the age of 35 years, with Baton Rouge maintaining throughout the age span a much higher ratio of males

to females.

The differentials that cause a departure from the expected pattern in proportionate numbers in the sexes of a population are due, in part, to the differential birth rate and to migration, both of which are influenced by economic and social factors. Baton Rouge's population demonstrates the tendency for industry to select young males from the rural in-migrants. Shreveport's low sex ratio points up the selection of females by short distance migration due perhaps to the greater lure of white-collar jobs and "city life" for members of this sex.

Although Baton Rouge is generally characterized by masculinity and Shreveport by feminity, both cities reflect the greater life expectancy of females in the predominantly low sex ratio among the aging and the aged.

CHAPTER VIII

MARITAL STATUS

Among all human groupings the most basic is the family. It is the "matrix of human personality,"[1] and as such it becomes the social institution which more than any other affects the happiness of man.[2] The family is designated by Bossard as the "culture bearer."[3] It exerts the earliest and the most lasting influence on the individual, and its great importance in the larger society is recognized by all students of human social relationships. It is Smith's opinion that today in America the family is both the agency by which the future population is produced and the crucible in which those citizens of the next generation are tested and molded.[4]

Marriage is the socially accepted pattern for the establishment and perpetuation of family relationships in America. Therefore

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[1] Ray E. Baber, Marriage and the Family, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953) p. 1.

[2] Meyer F. Nimkoff, Marriage and the Family, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947) p. 3.

[3] James H. S. Bossard, The Sociology of Child Development, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954) p. 126.

[4] Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, p. 404.

the marital status of the members of a population is highly significant to other characteristics. It is related directly to the birth rate, and to age and sex. In monogamous marriages, such as those which are sanctioned in the United States, and where the immediate family prevails, marital status bears indirectly upon such problems as mental health, delinquency and crime, illegitimacy, suicide, and upon personal and social disorganization generally.

The Data

Information concerning marital status has been included in every decennial census since 1890. The customary four categories in the classification of the population according to marital status of (1) single, (2) married, (3) widowed, and (4) divorced were extended in the 1940 Census by subdividing those married into those (1) living with spouse and (2) living apart.

A married couple is defined as a husband and his wife enumerated as members of the same household or quasi household. In the 1950 Census, data on marital status are based on the replies to the question, "Is he now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or has he never been married?" This classification refers to the status at the time of enumeration. Persons classified as married comprise, therefore, both those who have been married only once and those who

remarried after having been widowed or divorced. Persons reported in common-law marriages are classified as married. Those with annulled marriages are classified as single. Since it is probable that some divorced persons are reported as single, married, or widowed, the census returns doubtless understate somewhat the actual number of divorced persons who have not remarried.[5]

The category "separated" was included in the question on marital status for the first time in 1950. This change may have made the number of persons reported as divorced smaller in 1950 than it would have been under the earlier procedure. Also, the data are further refined in the "married" category into "married, spouse present" and "married, spouse absent." This gives more valid information as to the actual marital status as distinguished from the category of "separated."

These data are not all available by age and race for cities of 100,000 population. Therefore, it was necessary in some instances to utilize figures for the standard metropolitan area.

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[5] United States Census of Population: 1950. P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics, (United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. VII.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

In our culture the married state constitutes the normal fulfillment of adulthood. The United States has been described by family sociologists as one of the "most married" nations on earth.[6] Although Smith and Hitt point out that the rural population of Louisiana is "more married" than the urban,[7] the cities considered in this study show very high proportions of their inhabitants to be living in the married state.

Relative Importance of the Categories

Married. Table XII reveals that, of these two urban areas, Shreveport has a higher proportion (74.7 per cent) of its males, 14 years of age and over, in the married category than Baton Rouge (70.3 per cent). For the females 14 years of age and over, however, the proportions are reversed. In Baton Rouge, 68.1 per cent are married, whereas in Shreveport only 66.4 per cent are married. These data are consistent with the characteristic sex composition of the two populations. As already noted, a superabundance of males

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[6] Marion B. Smith, Survey of Social Science, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945) p. 164. Also, Baber, op. cit., p. 16.

[7] Smith and Hitt, op. cit., p. 82.

TABLE XII

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area and Marital Category	Per Cent	
	Males 14 Years of Age and Over	Females 14 Years of Age and Over
Baton Rouge		
Single	25.8	18.6
Married	70.3	68.1
Widowed	2.5	10.8
Divorced	1.4	2.5
Shreveport		
Single	19.3	14.7
Married	74.7	66.4
Widowed	4.0	15.6
Divorced	2.0	3.3

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 131-132, Table 57.

in a population, such as that of Baton Rouge, provide greater marriage opportunities for women than a predominantly feminine population such as Shreveport. In the latter case, the men have the more favorable marital chances, as is reflected in the higher proportion of married males in Shreveport.

Single. The second most important category in both cities includes the proportion of persons who are single. Again the typical sex pattern in each of these urban places reveals its influence upon other characteristics. Baton Rouge has a markedly higher proportion of single males (25.8 per cent) over the ages of 14 years, than Shreveport (19.3 per cent), indicating the surplus in that sex in the Capital City. Baton Rouge also has a higher proportion of single females than Shreveport, the relative percentages being 18.6 for that city and 14.7 in Shreveport. This differential is probably a result of the great attraction of the latter city for females in the older as well as younger ages, with a considerable number of the former classed as beyond the usual marriageable ages.

Widowed. Shreveport has a significantly higher proportion of widowed persons in both sexes than does Baton Rouge. The percentages for males are 4.0 in Shreveport and 2.5 in Baton Rouge; among females, 15.6 per cent in Shreveport are widowed as compared to 10.8 per cent in Baton Rouge. To express it differently, Shreveport's proportion of the widowed is almost twice as great as that of Baton

Rouge among males and approximately one-third greater among females. These proportions of the widowed reflect the age composition of the two cities. Baton Rouge's younger population has relatively fewer persons who have lost a mate by death than would be expected in Shreveport with its older population.

Divorced. A higher proportion of Shreveport's population is classified as divorced than is the case for Baton Rouge. Among males, the percentage divorced is 2.0 in Shreveport and 1.4 in Baton Rouge; the percentages are 3.3 and 2.5 among females. This category is relatively small in both cities, constituting only a small percentage of the entire adult population. Nevertheless, in a sense, as an index of family instability--and therefore significantly related to individual and social disorganization--it is vitally important. The higher incidence of divorce in Shreveport might well be related to the relatively greater economic independence of women in that white-collar city, or conversely, to relatively greater job insecurity for men. Also, the importance in Baton Rouge of Roman Catholics, whose religious philosophy condemns divorce, is very likely a significant factor in the lower proportion of divorced persons in that city's population.

Relation of Marital Status to Age and Sex

Nonage is a universal bar to the married state. In the United States the individual states set legal limits upon the age for entering

into marriage. The census data for 1950 relative to marital status begin at age 14, which is a year younger than those presented in previous census volumes. The data for the age of 14 years are included in Tables XII and XIII, but the actual numbers are so few as to be relatively insignificant. Therefore they are not included in Figures 33 to 39 which relate marital status to sex and age.

Since the marital condition of men differs from that of women in corresponding age groups, the charts that are used here demonstrate the relation of marital status to age in each sex separately.

The Total Population

Males. In Figure 33 the marital status of males in the total populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport is indicated. The males in Shreveport marry earlier than those in the Capital City, with the respective percentages of 6.0 and 4.7 married in the age class 15 to 19; 55.7 and 41.7 in the age class 20 to 24; and 82.6 to 77.9 in the age class 25 to 29. Expressed differently, between the ages of 15 and 29 years, a significantly greater proportion of the male population is married in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge. Above the age of 30 years, the two cities present a closely similar pattern in the relative proportions of the male population in the married state. Baton Rouge has a slightly higher proportion married between the ages of 30 and 35 years

TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, RACE AND MARITAL STATUS,[1] BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area and Marital Category	Per Cent			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Baton Rouge				
Single	24.9	17.6	23.8	17.5
Married	71.9	71.0	67.3	64.2
Widowed	1.9	9.2	4.8	14.2
Divorced	1.2	2.2	1.2	2.6
Shreveport				
Single	18.0	13.6	19.1	13.0
Married	77.1	70.6	69.5	62.7
Widowed	3.0	12.8	7.3	19.5
Divorced	1.9	3.0	4.1	4.7

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics, pp. 130-131, Table 57.

[1] These data are for standard metropolitan areas. There is no breakdown by race in the urban place data for 1950.

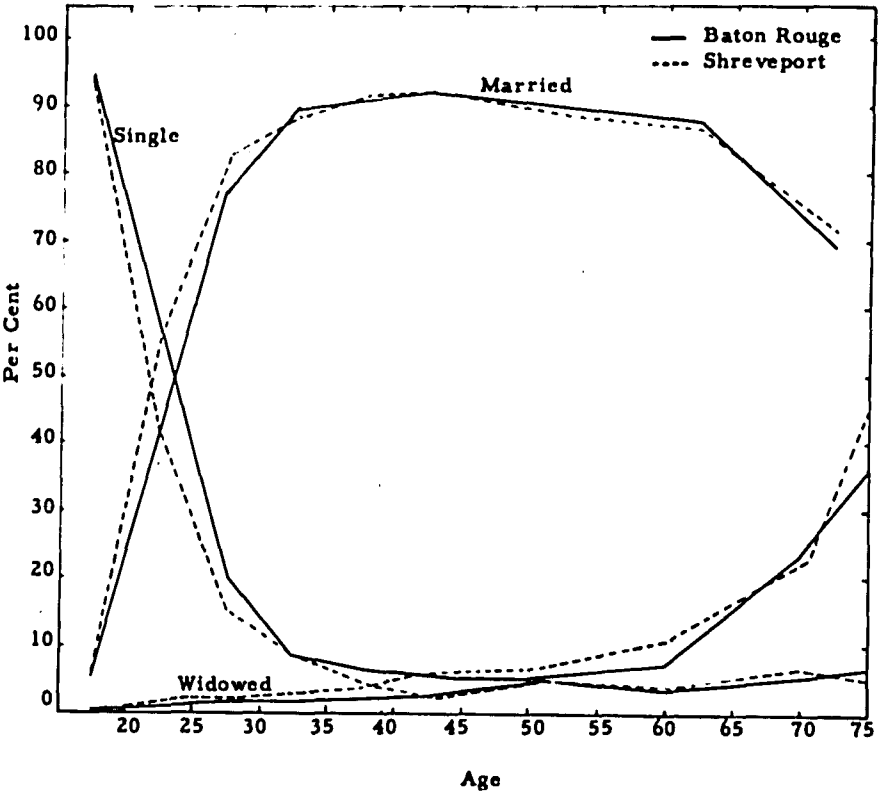

Figure 33. Comparison of marital status of males in the total populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

(89.5 per cent compared with 88.7 per cent in Shreveport), and 40 to 65 years and Shreveport has a greater proportion of married males 65 years old and over (71.9 per cent and 68.4 per cent, respectively).

In Baton Rouge the men remain single in greater proportions than they do in Shreveport in every age class above 15 years until about the age of 40 years. Above that age, the proportion of single men fluctuates very slightly, with the two cities remaining almost the same. In the two urban areas the highest proportion of men who are single are found in ages 15 to 19 years; Baton Rouge has 95.0 per cent single in that age class and Shreveport has 93.9 per cent. The lowest proportion of single men occurs in Baton Rouge in the age class 55 to 64, with a percentage of only 3.2. In Shreveport the lowest proportion of single men occurs in the same age class, and it is 3.4 per cent.

The widowed category, which includes those widowed by death and by divorce, is closely similar for the two cities. However, in every age class except 15 to 19 years and 65 to 74 years Shreveport has the higher proportion of widowed males. In both areas, the smallest relative numbers in this category are found in the ages under 40 years. At the age class 40 to 44, the relative percentages of the widowed are 4.4 per cent in Shreveport and 2.6 per cent in Baton Rouge. These proportions increase with age and are found to include 23.2 per cent of Baton Rouge's males in the ages between 65 and 74

years, and 21.7 per cent in these ages in Shreveport. The greatest relative number of widowed males is reached at 75 years of age and above. This proportion is 43.9 in Shreveport and 36.4 in Baton Rouge.

Females. Figure 34 shows that among white women in these urban areas between the ages of 15 and 25 years, Shreveport has more persons in the married category than Baton Rouge. However, from the age of about 30 years into the advanced ages these positions are reversed, and Baton Rouge has a slightly greater percentage of females who are married. On the whole, the curves for the two cities describe a pattern that is almost identical. The highest proportions of the married for both aggregates occur between the ages of 25 and 40 years. Baton Rouge attains the high percentage of 87.9 and Shreveport's highest percentage of married white females (86.4) occurs in the same age class.

The excess of males, which provides more opportunities for females to enter marriage, is greatest in the young adult ages, which also probably contributes to the greater proportion in the married category in Baton Rouge. The curves for the two cities are remarkably close to being identical, except for the greater relative importance of the married persons in Baton Rouge over that of Shreveport. This condition is consistent with the respective age and sex distribution patterns of these cities, as has been noted earlier.

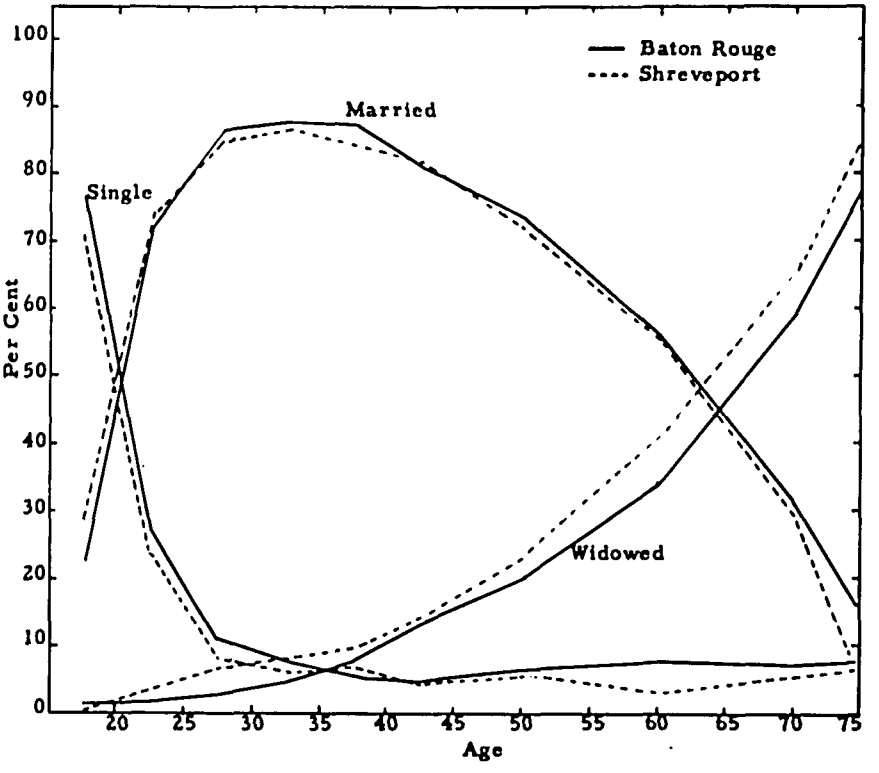

Figure 34. Comparison of marital status of females in the total populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

The proportions of females who are single in Baton Rouge are greater than for those in Shreveport in every age class except between the ages of 35 and 40 years. As would be expected, relatively most women are unmarried below the age of 20 years. The respective percentages in the single category in those ages are 76.7 for Baton Rouge and 70.9 for Shreveport. The ages between 40 and 44 years in the Capital City represent the lowest proportion of single females, with 4.1 per cent as opposed to 4.2 per cent in Shreveport. The lowest relative proportion in Shreveport in this category is found in the age class 55 to 64, with the small per cent of 3.5. The corresponding proportion of single females in Baton Rouge is 7.5, which means that the latter city has approximately twice as great proportion of single women between the ages of 55 and 64 years as Shreveport. This is the widest divergence between the two cities in the ages past 40 years.

Shreveport has proportionately more widowed women from the age of 20 years on up the age ladder, than has Baton Rouge. The curves for the two cities are patterned similarly, but the divergence is greater than for any of the other marital categories.

Since it is not practical to chart separately the percentages of those widowed by death and those widowed by divorce, the two categories are combined. However, it seems pertinent to point out that in

the ages between 15 and 39 years in Baton Rouge, and in the ages between 15 and 35 years in Shreveport, the divorced account for the greater proportion of females in the widowed category, with gradually waning importance thereafter. The highest proportion of divorced women occurs in Baton Rouge in the ages between 40 and 44 years (5.3 per cent), while in Shreveport the highest percentage of the women who are divorced occurs between the ages of 25 and 29 years (4.8 per cent). These figures suggest that family stability is relatively greater in Baton Rouge in the child bearing ages, while in Shreveport the greater economic independence of women may be a factor in earlier family disruption.

The consistently higher proportions of women in Shreveport in the category of widowed, points to the predominant femininity of that population and to the greater longevity of women. This is in direct contrast to Baton Rouge's younger, more masculine population.

The White Population

The charts in Figures 35 and 36 which compare white males in Baton Rouge and Shreveport in the various marital categories by age, and then white females, resemble very closely those patterns that are displayed by the males and females in these cities in the total populations.

Males. In Figure 35, white males in Shreveport are married in greater proportions on the whole than are those in Baton Rouge. This holds true except in the ages 30 to 35 years, 55 to 65 years, and beyond 70 years. At the age class 35 to 40, 93.9 per cent of Shreveport's white males, and 92.4 per cent of Baton Rouge's white males, are married. These proportions are higher than those attained in the total populations which were respectively 91.6 per cent and 92.1 per cent in favor of married males in Baton Rouge. This suggests the influence on the total curves of Shreveport's relatively larger nonwhite population, in which only approximately 90 per cent are married, and therefore serve to lower the percentage of married males in the total population.

In the single category for white males, the cities exhibit almost the identical relationships as in the total populations, with Baton Rouge having higher proportions in this category than Shreveport up to about the age of 40 years. After that time the two curves for single white males in these urban areas almost coincide.

The proportionate numbers of widowed white males in these cities also closely resemble those in the total populations and very markedly resemble each other. The widowed males among the whites of Shreveport are slightly in excess, relatively, of those in Baton Rouge in all ages over 20 years and under 65 years. The widest

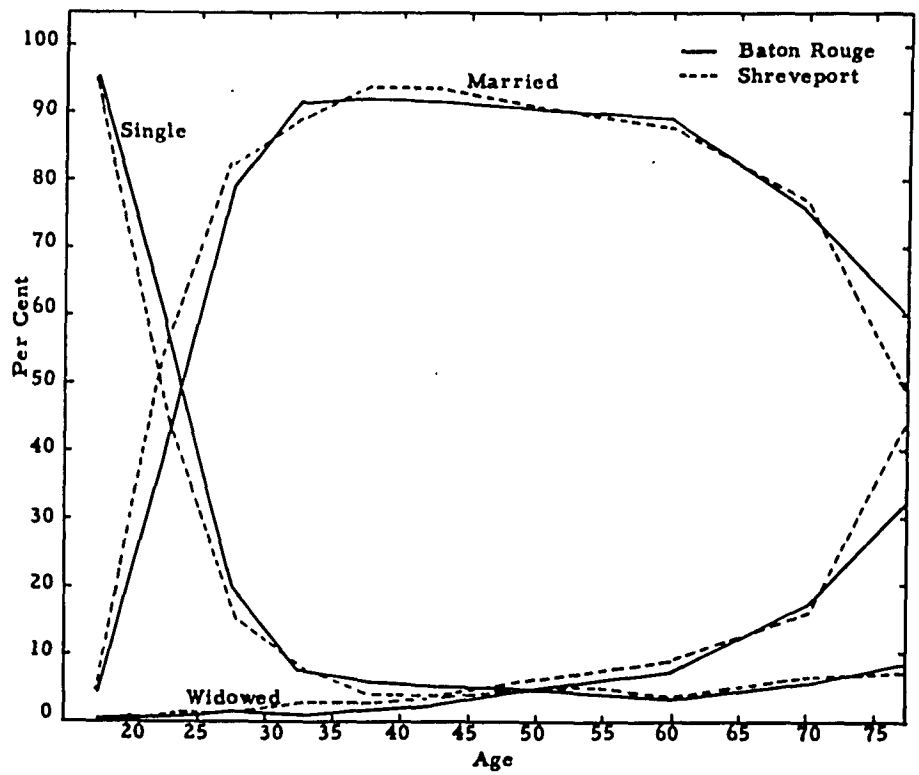

Figure 35. Comparison of marital status of white males in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

divergence occurs between the ages of 30 and 35 years, with a per cent of only 1.1 in Baton Rouge as opposed to 2.7 for Shreveport. This means that Shreveport's widowed males are about three times as important in that city's population as are those in Baton Rouge. In both cases the category is relatively small.

Females. The curves representing marital categories for white females, shown in Figure 36, also bear a marked likeness to those for females in the total population. Under the age of 25 years Shreveport has a higher proportion of white women in the married state. Between the ages 25 and 40 years, Baton Rouge's white female married category is relatively more important than Shreveport's. In fact, the greatest differential between the two populations occurs in the age class 35 to 40, the respective percentages being 90.4 for Baton Rouge and 88.8 for Shreveport. Thereafter the curves coincide until about the age of 65 years. During the advanced ages beyond 65 years, Baton Rouge's proportion of married white females consistently exceeds that of Shreveport.

The single categories for white females show no notable differences from those in the total population for females. Baton Rouge maintains a higher proportion of single persons throughout almost the entire life span, than does Shreveport. The only ages in which the latter city has a concentration of single white women greater than that

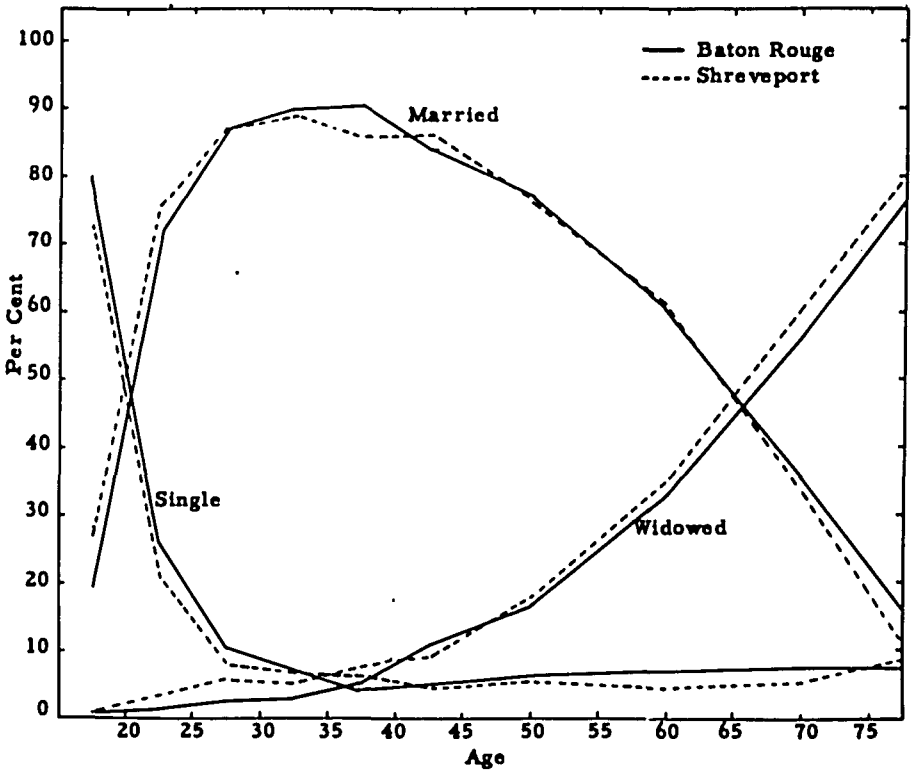

Figure 36. Comparison of marital status of white females in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

of Baton Rouge is in the age class 35 to 40. In those ages Shreveport's significantly greater per cent of single white females is 6.2 as compared with 4.5 for Baton Rouge.

The widowed white females constitute consistently higher proportions of the population of Shreveport than of that of Baton Rouge. Again the curves closely approximate those of the total populations in these cities. There is one small deviation from this pattern which is observable in the age class 40 to 45. In the white female population, in this one instance, Baton Rouge has 10.6 per cent widowed, which is higher than the 9.4 per cent in that age class of Shreveport's population. The same observation can be made concerning the relative importance of divorce in the widowed category of the white females as was relevant in the total group. From the ages of 15 to 45 years in Baton Rouge, divorce constitutes the greater part of the white widowed female category, and in Shreveport this holds true between the ages of 15 and 40 years. The highest percentage of divorce among the white females of Baton Rouge (5.6 per cent) occurs between the ages of 40 and 45 years; in Shreveport the highest per cent of divorce in a comparable group (4.1 per cent) occurs in the slightly younger ages between 35 and 40 years. The same reasons which were suggested for this differential in the total group may well apply here: economic influences which affect family stability. The relative importance of divorce is much less above the ages of 40 to 45 years in both cities.

The Nonwhite Population

Upon viewing the charts for nonwhite males in Figure 37, there are certain differences which become apparent between these curves and those for the total and the white populations. In broad outlines, they resemble the others, but the nonwhite populations tend more toward erratic variations and extremes.

Males. The differentials between marital statuses of the Baton Rouge and Shreveport nonwhite males are more marked. The proportions in the married category in Shre veport are relatively greater than in Baton Rouge under the age of 30 years. The percentages in the age class 25 to 30 are 81.8 for Shreveport and 74.8 for Baton Rouge. Between the ages of 30 and 34 years the married in both cities approximate 90 per cent, and this per cent varies but little in the next age class of 35 to 39 years. However, from the age of 40 years to about 65 years Baton Rouge nonwhite males have a slightly higher proportion in the married category than do those in Shreveport. The highest concentration in this category occurs between the ages of 40 and 44 years in Baton Rouge (91.8 per cent); the comparable per cent for the same age class in Shreveport is 89.5. After the age of 65 years, the proportions fluctuate, but decline in importance in both cities, with Baton Rouge counting 57.3 per cent of her nonwhite males above 75 years of age married, as opposed to only 50.4 per cent in

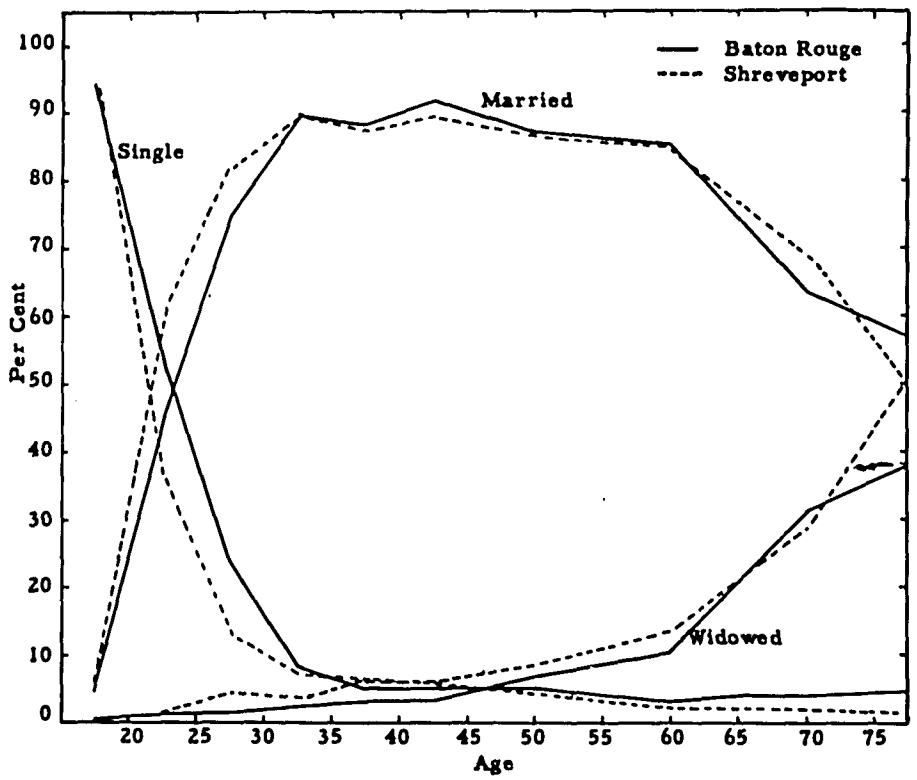

Figure 37. Comparison of marital status of nonwhite males in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

those ages in the north Louisiana urban center.

Baton Rouge maintains a consistent pattern of greater proportions of nonwhite males in the single category than Shreveport from the ages of 15 to 40 years. The greatest differential is noted in the age class 20 to 24, in which Baton Rouge has 54.3 per cent of her nonwhite men still single while Shreveport has only 37.6 per cent. These percentages are lower than the comparable ones in the white population of 59.1 for Baton Rouge and 45.5 for Shreveport. It is interesting to note that the proportion of nonwhite males in the single status is higher in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport for both white and nonwhite males in the same ages. Except for the age class 40 to 44 in which Shreveport is slightly higher, Baton Rouge consistently maintains a greater proportion of nonwhite males in the single category than Shreveport.

The city of Shreveport has higher proportions of widowed nonwhite males than the Capital City until the advanced ages after 65 years. The Baton Rouge population follows the expected pattern of a gradually increasing proportion of widowed nonwhite males with advancing ages. In contrast, the proportion of widowed among nonwhite males in Shreveport is unexpectedly high as early as the age class 25 to 29. The percentage is 4.3 as contrasted to 1.7 for the comparable group in Baton Rouge. The higher incidence of divorce in Shreveport's nonwhite population accounts for some of the vagaries of the curve for

this marital category. Smith and Hitt suggest that, in addition to the lower life expectancy among Negroes, another fact that may account for the high percentage found in the widowed category is the unorthodox nature of matings in this racial group.[8] Certainly this category is relatively more important in the nonwhite population than in the white population.

Females. Figure 38, in which curves are charted for the marital categories of the nonwhite female segments of the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport, presents some significant contrasts to those of the white females. The changes in the relative proportions in these categories as the ages increase are much more pronounced than in the white group.

The proportions in the married category among nonwhite females are never as great as for those of the whites, and the relative importance begins to decline in earlier ages. Shreveport has higher proportions of married among her nonwhite females between the ages of 15 and 25 years than does Baton Rouge. However, between 25 and 30 years of age the proportion of married Negro women constitutes 85.4 per cent in Baton Rouge as compared to only 81.4 per cent in the other city. While this represents the greatest concentration of married

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[8] Ibid., p. 81.

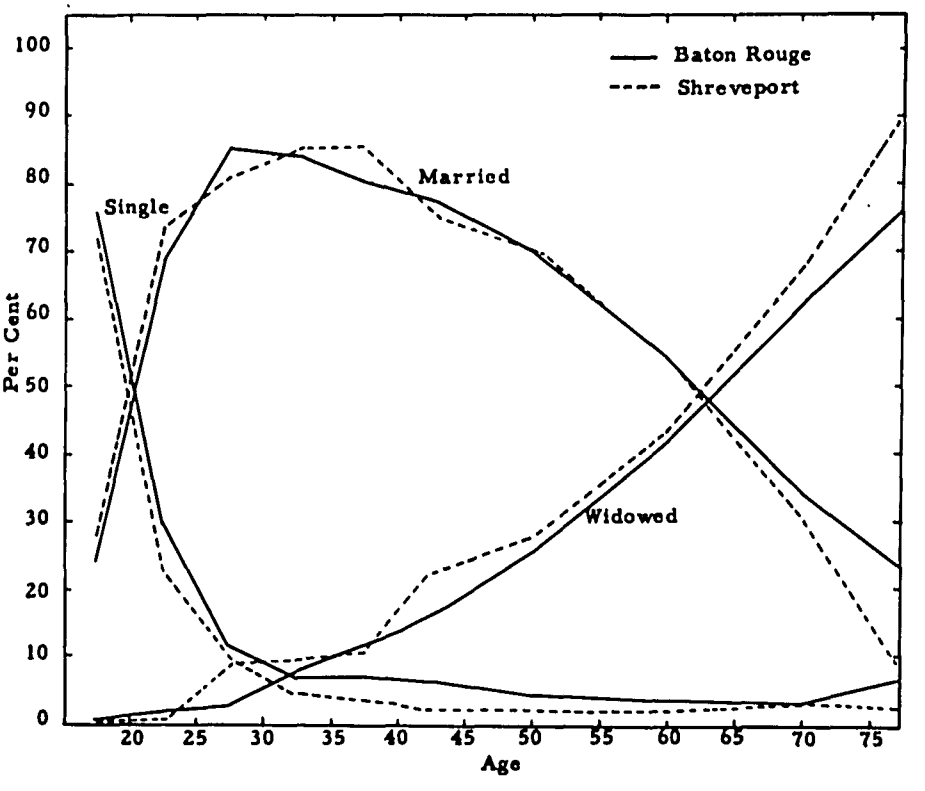

Figure 38. Comparison of marital status of nonwhite females in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

nonwhite females in Baton Rouge at any age, in Shreveport the age class 35 to 39 records the highest proportion married, with 85.6 per cent in contrast to 81.4 per cent in Baton Rouge. The latter fact is unexpected because Negroes of both sexes usually marry at slightly younger ages than whites.[9] From the age of 40 years upward, Baton Rouge contains as high or higher proportions of married nonwhite females than the population of Shreveport. There is a notably greater importance of this category in the advanced ages in Baton Rouge.

The single category again contains greater proportions among females of this racial group in the Baton Rouge population in all age classes than in Shreveport. In the ages between 25 and 30 years, the two cities show considerable similarity in the proportions classed as single, with 11.0 per cent in Baton Rouge and 9.8 in Shreveport in that category. For the most part, however, the Capital City maintains a relatively greater proportion of single nonwhite women.

It is in the category for the widowed that proportions assume great extremes among nonwhite females. In all populations the curves for marital categories of nonwhite women reflect the greater longevity of that sex as compared to nonwhite males. The loss of males from the group results in a relatively early decline in the proportions married and the relatively early increase among the widowed females.

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[9] Ibid., p. 78.

Among nonwhite females in Baton Rouge and Shreveport the widowed category becomes of importance in the young adult ages. In the age class 20 to 24, this per cent is 2.0 in Baton Rouge and 3.0 in Shreveport. Thereafter, the proportions of widows gain in importance with each age group. Between 25 to 29 years the widowed include 3.6 per cent of the nonwhite females in Baton Rouge and 8.8 per cent in Shreveport; in the age class 30 to 34 the per cents are 8.2 and 9.6 respectively. The ages between 35 to 39 years find relatively more widowed nonwhite females in Baton Rouge (11.6 per cent) as compared to Shreveport's 10.6 per cent. From the age of 40 years upward, however, this category is more important in Shreveport than it is in the Capital City. By the ages of 45 to 54 years, more than one-fourth of the Negro women in both cities are widowed, with 27.9 per cent in Shreveport and 25.5 per cent in Baton Rouge falling into this category. In the ages between 55 and 64 years more than two-fifths of this group are widowed (43.7 in Shreveport and 41.7 per cent in Baton Rouge). In the most advanced ages, above 74 years, the widowed category makes up the impressive proportions of 88.1 per cent of Shreveport's nonwhite females and 74.2 per cent of those in Baton Rouge.

The nonwhite females differ from the whites in that the divorced among them do not account for relatively as great a percentage of the widowed category as is true among whites. Divorced persons constitute a significant proportion of the widowed category

among Negro women between the ages of 20 and 35 years in Baton Rouge and between the ages of 15 and 30 years in Shreveport. Above those ages, however, the divorced category is relatively much less important than that composed of females widowed by death. As noted earlier, it is likely that the 1950 classification of "separated" which is subsumed under the married category, has the effect of decreasing the number of persons listed as divorced. The relatively higher mortality rates among Negroes together with the impermanent character of marital ties (which are often the common law variety and therefore easily severed) serve to explain the notably greater importance of the widowed group in both of these cities. Shreveport's relatively larger Negro population, combined with her characteristic femininity, suggests further reasons for the higher concentrations of widowed non-white females in that urban area.

Per Cent Married, Baton Rouge and Shreveport

Figure 39 serves to point up the "more married" condition of Shreveport's population in the early adult years and conversely, the greater importance of that category in the population of Baton Rouge in the ages past 30 years. This is particularly true among females. It is also interesting to note the relatively greater proportions of males than females in the populations of both cities who are married after the age of 30 years. These curves emphasize the relatively greater

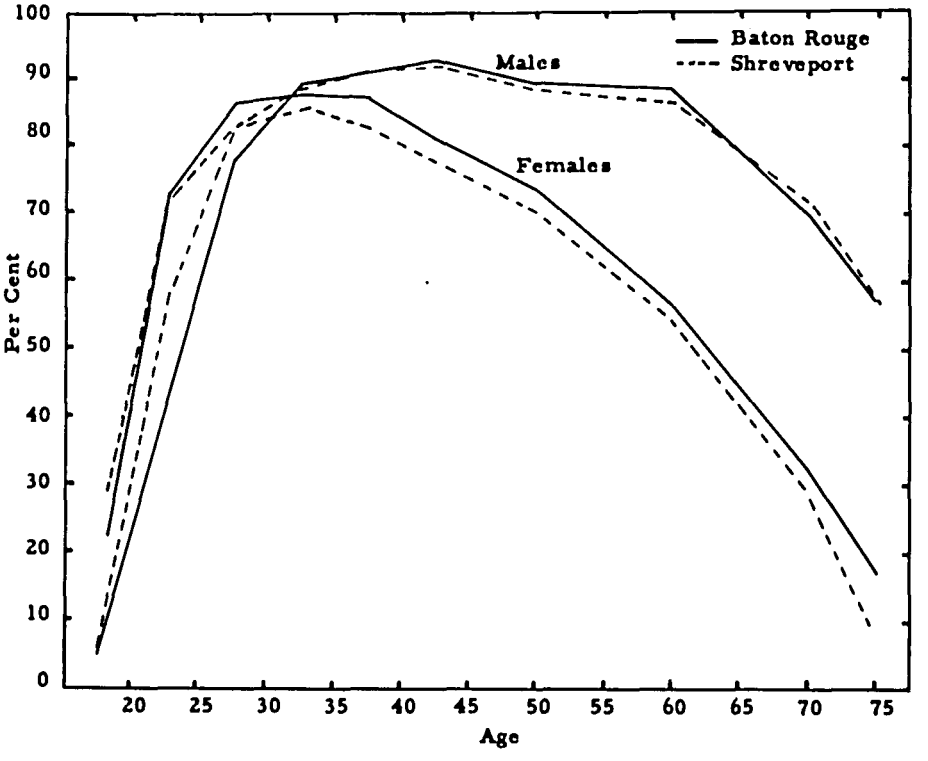

Figure 39. Comparison of proportions of married persons, by age and sex, in Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

youthfulness and masculinity of Baton Rouge, and the predominence of women in Shreveport, with greater longevity for women in both cities.

General Conclusions

In both Baton Rouge and Shreveport the category of "married" is by far the most important one, followed by "single," "widowed" and "divorced," in that order. The proportions of married persons in both sexes is unusually high for urban areas, with relatively more representation among males of all ages than among females. Shreveport has greater proportions of persons married in the young adult ages and Baton Rouge has more in the middle and advanced ages. This holds true for both sexes.

In the single category the two municipalities follow similar patterns, with Baton Rouge exhibiting relatively greater proportions in this status than does Shreveport.

The widowed category also broadly follows a common pattern in both urban centers, but constitutes higher proportions of the population in Shreveport than in that of Baton Rouge, for males and females.

The divorced persons constitute an important proportion of the widowed in both cities among the young adults, but decline in relative numbers in the ages above 40 years.

The white populations follow roughly the patterns of the total populations in relative importance of marital categories for both males and females. In the nonwhite group, however, there are significant differentials. The nonwhites are married slightly earlier than whites, particularly the males. They marry in these two cities in similar proportions to the whites, in the productive ages, particularly in Baton Rouge. However, the married category begins to decline in importance at much earlier ages for nonwhites than for whites. It follows that the widowed in this racial group make up a significantly larger percentage than is true in the white population. In general the proportion of nonwhites widowed is relatively more important in Shreveport, for both sexes, throughout the life span, than in the same category in Baton Rouge.

The nonwhite populations reflect, in the relative importance of these marital categories, the high mortality rates and the permissive mores that characterize their race.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

According to Marion B. Smith, "Man becomes a human being possessed of the behavior patterns of his particular society through the process of education."[1] This reference to education is in the broadest meaning of the term. In modern society the question of acquiring a formal education is no longer a matter of choice. To participate intelligently in the economic, political, and social life of his community one requires not only the familiar tools for communicating ideas or performing calculations, but command of highly skilled vocational techniques and principles as well. In addition, a broad understanding of human social relationships is becoming essential in the "shrinking" world of the Atomic Age.

All of these matters have become the concern and responsibility of education. In America, where education is deemed a basic human right, a ready answer, however optimistic or unrealistic, to all questions related to the social ills is that "education" can correct them. Unquestionably, the educational status of a community is

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[1] Marion B. Smith, Survey of Social Science, p. 218.

directly related to the level of living and the cultural ethos of the population.

The Data

As late as 1930 the only census data presented concerning the educational status of the population of the United States were those on illiteracy.[2] The 1940 census volumes, while dropping illiteracy data, added valuable information as to number of years of school completed and median years of schooling. The 1950 Census makes available a variety of useful data relative to the educational attainment of the population. In addition to complete figures on school enrollment and years of school completed, for the first time in a decennial census, kindergarten enrollment was separately identified in the 1950 Census reports. Because the educational status of a population's youngest members is a reliable index to the total quality of that population's education, the latter classification of data is highly significant.

Most of the data used in this chapter are for standard metropolitan areas and are based on a 20 per cent sample. The standard metropolitan areas include for each of these urban centers an entire parish. Therefore these data are not as accurate in reference to the

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[2] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, p. 154.

central city as are the data for the urban place. Where data are available for the urban place they are utilized. However, they are not available by race for years of schooling completed. The urban place data are recorded for school enrollment for the total population by age, but not for years of school completed for adults twenty-five years old or older, by sex. The effect of thus including portions of the rural population area of the parish will be to indicate somewhat different proportions of persons in various categories than would be the case within the city limits. However, for comparative purposes this does not represent a serious handicap.

Types of Measurement

Until quite recently the only available measure provided in the United States Census of the extent of the education of a population was that of illiteracy, or the number of people above a given age who are unable to read and write.[3] This index was very unsatisfactory as a real measure of the educational standing of a group and as a basis for comparison between groups. Its inadequacy was due to three weaknesses: (1) it was often based on the entire population, including even the very young ages, (2) the criteria were not

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[3] Thompson, Population Problems, p. 116.

standardized; and (3) in populations where high levels of education obtained it represented only a very small proportion of the people.[4] The 1940 and 1950 census reports replaced the question regarding illiteracy with one regarding years of schooling completed, and added other pertinent information, as noted above. These data make possible the development of a wide variety of measures and indexes.

In this analysis four principle indexes are utilized: (1) the median years of school completed, (2) the percentage with no years of school, (3) the percentage with four years of high school, and (4) the percentage with four years or more of college completed. In addition, the data relative to the kindergarten enrollment will be briefly considered. These indexes will permit a meaningful comparison of the two cities in this study.[5] Most of the data pertain to adults twenty-five years of age and older, but in urban areas school attendance in the younger ages is a highly significant measure of the amount of formal education in process in the community. In regional and rural-urban contrasts of educational attainment, it has been pointed out

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[4] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, pp. 153, 154.

[5] The classification "functional illiteracy," is often utilized in determining the proportion of persons who have not acquired sufficient formal education for social adequacy. The term is applied to persons who have completed less than five years of schooling. It is a useful index in analyzing the educational status of broad populations, and is particularly effective in comparing rural-urban areas. However, it was deemed a less meaningful measure for this analysis of two urban centers than the ones that are here employed.

that differential availability of school facilities significantly influences the economic and social achievements of a group.[6]

The median years of school completed is one of the most dependable measures of educational status. It is the number which represents the middle position in a group. The median thus divides the group into two equal parts, one half of the constituent persons having completed more years of schooling, and the other half having completed fewer years.[7] The percentage that has completed no years of schooling closely approximates the proportion of illiteracy.[8] The proportion that has completed high school and the proportion that has completed college are measures of the extent of educational attainment not achieved by the other indexes. Since both Baton Rouge and Shreveport are "college towns," the latter index is especially useful for comparative purposes.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

Demographers have established that certain patterns or differentials typically obtain relative to educational achievement in

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[6] Ibid., pp. 162, 163.

[7] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 91.

[8] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 154.

various populations as follows: (1) Urban people are better educated than rural-farm populations,[9] (2) whites are much better educated than nonwhites,[10] (3) females are usually given slightly more education than males.[11]

Median Years of School Completed

Total Population. It is possible and feasible to compare the educational attainment of these two municipalities according to median years of school completed. In Table XIV are presented the median years of school completed by the populations 25 years of age and over in Baton Rouge, Shreveport and rural-farm Louisiana, by sex. Baton Rouge has a slightly higher median of 10.6 for the total population as compared to 10.3 for Shreveport. This advantage is maintained in both sexes, the respective educational attainment levels being: Baton Rouge males, 10.4 median years of school completed; and Shreveport males, 10.1 median years. Baton Rouge females achieved 10.7 median years of education and Shreveport females only slightly less, 10.5 median years of schooling.

In Table XV the median years of schooling for persons 25

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[9] Thompson, op. cit., p. 116.

[10] Ibid., See Also T. Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 162.

[11] Ibid., p. 157.

TABLE XIV

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR URBAN PLACE, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Urban Place	Total Population	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	10.6	10.4	10.7
Shreveport	10.3	10.1	10.5

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

TABLE XV

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY RACE AND SEX, IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1950*

Area	All Classes			White			Nonwhite		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	9.8	9.6	10.0	11.1	11.1	11.1	5.4	4.9	5.7
Shreveport	9.3	9.0	9.6	11.0	10.8	11.6	4.9	4.5	5.4
Louisiana Rural-farm	5.6	5.1	6.1	6.1	5.8	6.5	3.6	3.2	4.1

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

years of age and above are given for the total populations, whites, and nonwhites, by sex, for the standard metropolitan areas of Baton Rouge and Shreveport, and for rural-farm Louisiana, 1950. Since these data are for a more inclusive population than the urban place, the influence of the lower rural educational achievement is reflected in the lower median years of schooling recorded in Baton Rouge and Shreveport's total populations. However, the same relative ranks are maintained, with Baton Rouge displaying higher educational achievement than Shreveport in all categories of the population except that of white females. (Figures 40 and 41 show Baton Rouge schools in 1950 and proposed new schools)

Whites. Among the whites of both cities the median years of schooling is higher than that in the total population. Although Baton Rouge's males and females attain the same level of 11.1 median years, in Shreveport the white females exhibit a slightly higher educational attainment of 11.6 median years of schooling in comparison to 10.8 for the white males. There is not a great difference between the two cities among females, but Shreveport has a slight advantage with 11.6 median years of schooling compared to 11.1 for Baton Rouge. Among Capital City males, the median years of schooling is 11.1 compared to only 10.8 median years of schooling for Shreveport's white males. (White public schools in Shreveport are shown in Figure 42)

Nonwhites. It is readily apparent that the nonwhites are disadvantaged in educational training, and those in Shreveport are

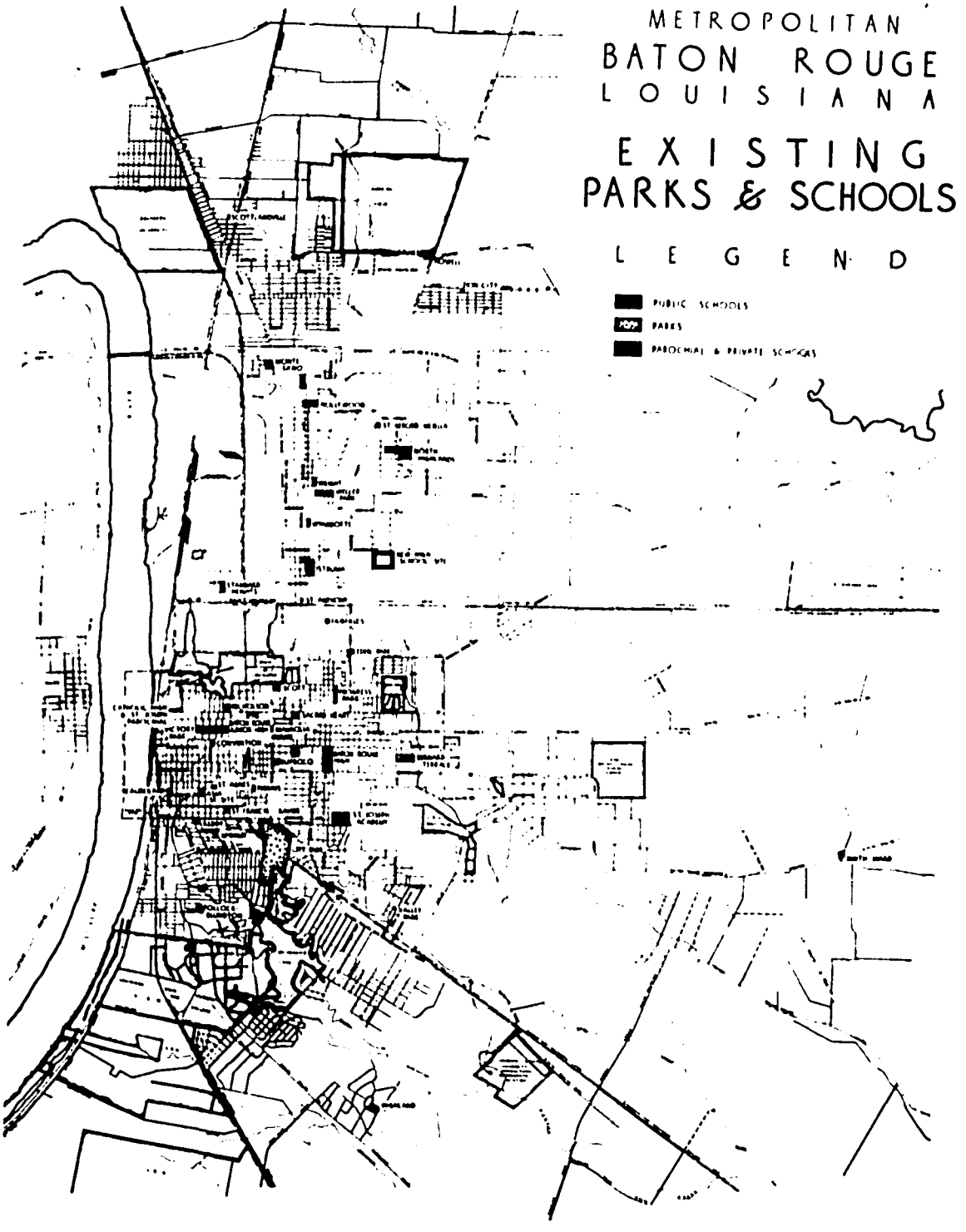

Figure 40. Existing schools in Baton Rouge: 1950. (Chart reprinted through courtesy of Baton Rouge City-Parish Planning Commission)

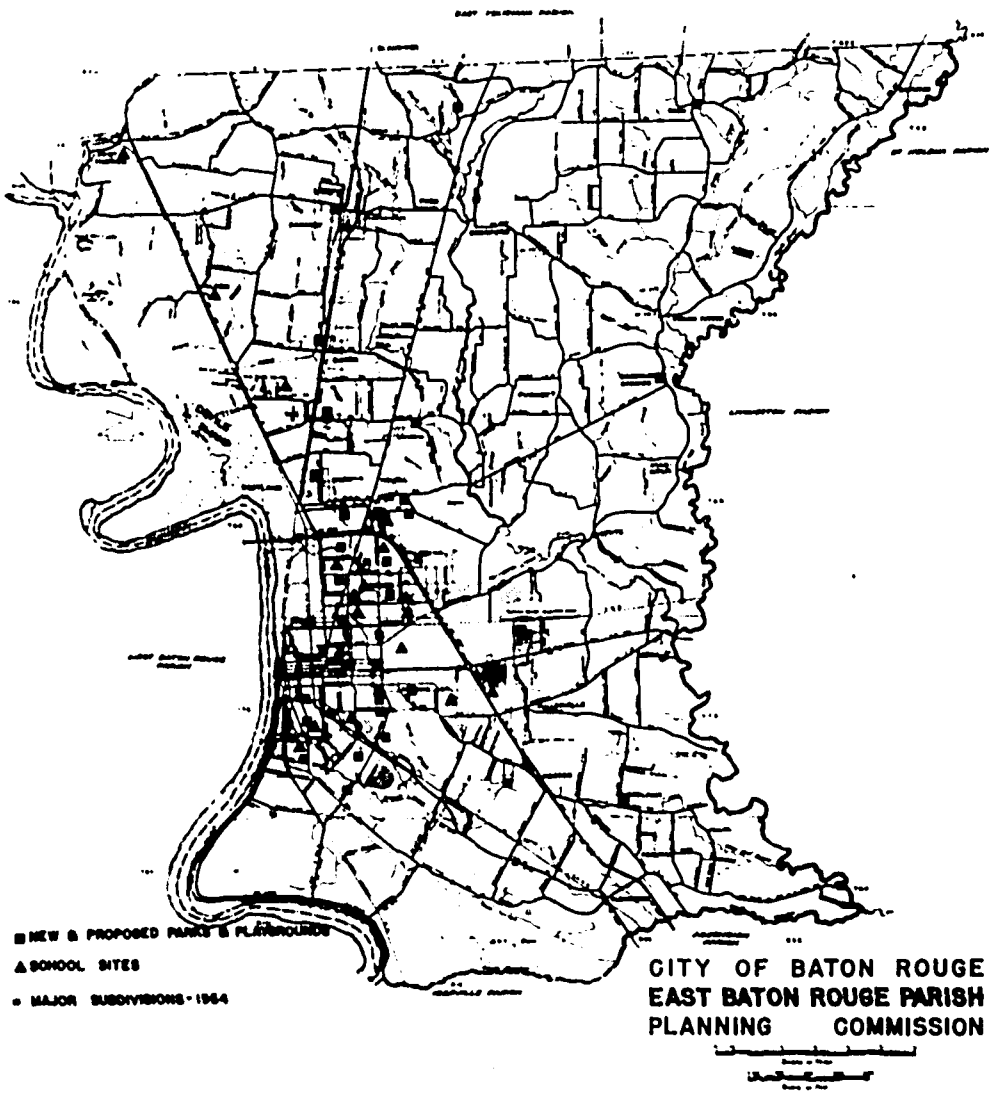

Figure 41. Proposed elementary school system, Baton Rouge: 1953. (Source: City-Parish Planning Commission)

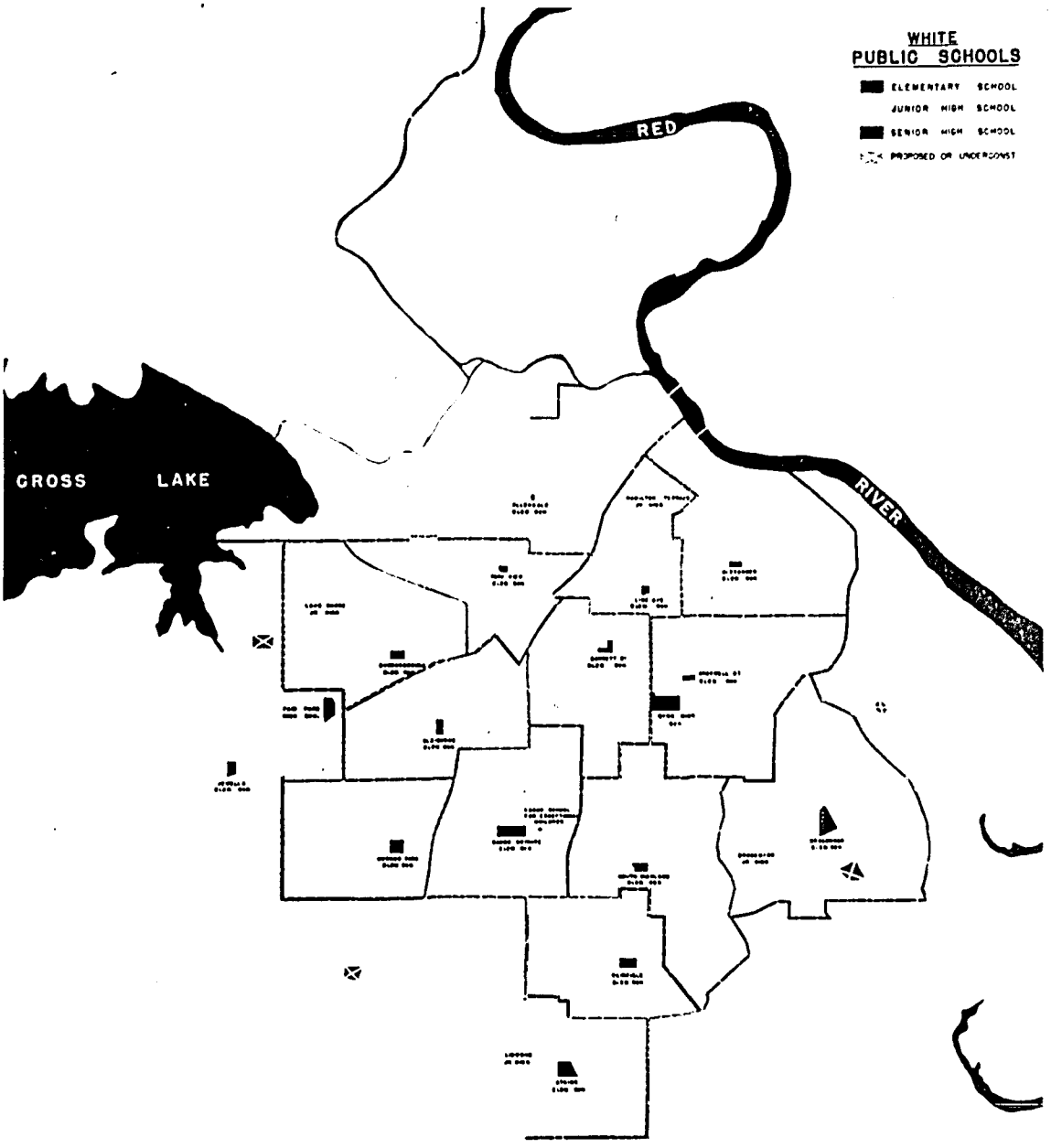

Figure 42. White public schools in Shreveport; 1953. (Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning consultant).

considerably more disadvantaged than those in Baton Rouge. The low median years of schooling in the nonwhite population of 5.4 in Baton Rouge is still considerably higher than that of 4.9 achieved by the Shreveport nonwhites. (Figure 43 shows Shreveport Negro schools, 1953)

The males among this racial group in the Capital City have 4.9 median years of schooling compared to 4.5 for the same group in the north Louisiana city. Females in the nonwhite category are more educated than the males, in both municipalities, having achieved the median grade level of 5.7 in Baton Rouge and 5.4 in Shreveport. The greater educational attainment of Negroes in Baton Rouge over those of Shreveport might well be another reflection of the respective employment conditions of the two urban centers. In Baton Rouge more favorable employment opportunities for Negroes probably permit greater utilization by the Negroes of education in the parochial schools because they are able to finance education in private schools for their children. Undoubtedly another factor is the influence of Southern University, a large Negro educational center, with its motivation of higher educational achievement, as well as the reflection of its enrollment upon the total educational status of nonwhites in Baton Rouge.

Rural-urban differentials. In further reference to Table XV, the contrasts between rural and urban achievements in education are clearly demonstrated. The urban areas have a greater educational

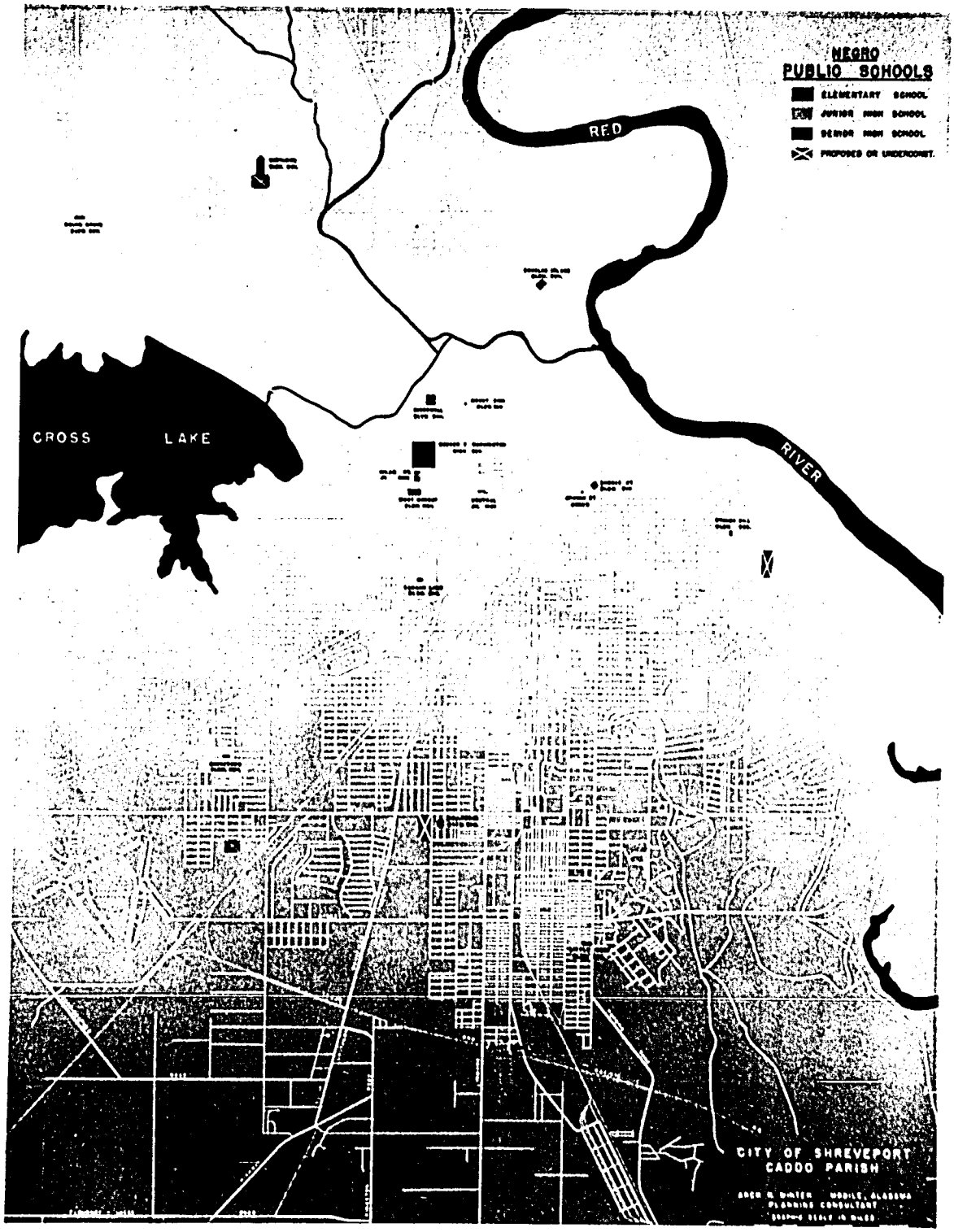

Figure 43. Negro public schools in Shreveport; 1953. (Courtesy of Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant).

achievement than the rural-farm group, exhibiting a median years of schooling five years higher than the latter population. The urban advantage in educational achievement is more evident, however, among whites than among nonwhites, with the medians in the latter group differing by less than two grades. Baton Rouge shows the greater contrast, having a median of 5.4 grades completed by nonwhites in contrast to 3.6 median grades completed in the rural-farm group and 4.9 median years of schooling in Shreveport.

Percentage With No Years of Schooling

Tables XVI and XVII disclose the proportions of the population 25 years of age and over, by race and sex, who had completed no years of schooling in Baton Rouge and Shreveport and in rural-farm Louisiana in 1950.

Total Population. Table XVI represents the urban place educational status. The two cities are very similar in this particular classification. The proportions in the total populations are exactly the same, with each having 4.2 per cent with no schooling. Among males, Baton Rouge has a slightly lower proportion with no schooling (4.2 per cent) as compared to Shreveport (4.6 per cent). This Shreveport disadvantage does not exist, however, in the female population; Baton Rouge has 4.1 per cent of her females with no schooling in contrast to only 3.9 per cent among Shreveport's females.

TABLE XVI

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH NO SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED, BY SEX, FOR URBAN PLACE, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Urban Place	Total Population	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	4.2	4.2	4.1
Shreveport	4.2	4.6	3.9

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

TABLE XVII

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH NO SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED, BY RACE AND SEX, STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1950*

Area	Per Cent								
	All Classes			White			Nonwhite		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	5.1	5.3	5.0	1.4	1.3	1.4	12.9	14.1	11.9
Shreveport	5.1	5.8	4.5	1.1	1.3	1.0	12.9	15.2	11.0
Louisiana Rural-farm	14.5	15.8	13.1	9.9	10.3	9.5	22.6	25.7	19.5

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

Table XVI, pertaining to standard metropolitan areas, again reflects the influence of the inclusion of the groups with varying degrees of urbanity which are contiguous to the central urban place.[12] This influence is reflected in the higher proportions of persons with no schooling in the total populations, represented by 5.1 per cent in each area as contrasted with 4.2 for the city itself. Although these percentages vary from those for the urban place, the total relative positions of the two cities, and those of males and females, are similar.

Whites. Among whites the proportion of persons with no schooling is decidedly low. Baton Rouge has a slightly higher percentage (1.4) than Shreveport, which has 1.1 per cent. The white males of the two cities show the same proportions with no schooling, which is 1.3 per cent in each case. Among females, Baton Rouge has the greater percentage of 1.4, as compared with exactly 1.0 per cent in Shreveport. Since the percentage with no schooling is no higher than 1.4 for any group among the white persons of these two areas, the proportion of illiteracy may be said to be negligible.

Nonwhites. The high proportion of the nonwhites who have had no schooling is in startling contrast to the relatively insignificant

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[12] As designated in Chapter IV, the standard metropolitan area of each of these cities includes an entire parish, parts of which are rural in character.

percentages thus classified among whites. In both urban areas 12.9 per cent of the adult Negro populations had had no schooling in 1950. There are differences between males and females in the two cities and within the same city. The 15.2 per cent with no schooling among nonwhite males in Shreveport is the highest for any nonwhite group in the two areas. It contrasts with 14.1 per cent of the adult nonwhite males in Baton Rouge with no schooling. However, the Baton Rouge nonwhite females have a greater proportion with no schooling (11.9 per cent) than do the Shreveport Negro women (11.0 per cent). Those with no schooling comprise more than 10 per cent of the total number of the persons in this race. It is evident from these figures that illiteracy poses a considerable problem for both Baton Rouge and Shreveport among their nonwhite populations.

Rural-urban differentials. The wide differences between the rural-nonfarm and the urban groups are dramatically pointed up in the contrasts presented by this index. In all categories the urban populations vary only slightly from each other compared to the vastly greater proportion of low educational status in the rural-farm group. When both races are combined, the percentages of 14.5 for the rural-farm and 5.1 for each of the urban centers, and, for white persons, 9.9 per cent among rural-farm dwellers as opposed to 1.4 for residents of Baton Rouge and 1.1 for those of Shreveport, reveal widely

different levels of educational attainment. The whites supply the greatest contrast, with the proportion of illiteracy about ten to one greater among white rural-farm persons than that among white urbanites, whereas the relative proportions in favor of urban non-whites is about two to one over their rural-farm counterparts. In this group Shreveport occupies an intermediary position between that of Baton Rouge and the nonfarm group. However, the proportion of those with no schooling in Shreveport is much nearer to that of the Capital City than to the farm population. These data suggest that the "life chances" are much superior for the urban than for the rural person in Louisiana.

Persons With Four Years of High School Completed.

Total Population. The proportions of the population of the municipalities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport of persons 25 years of age and over who had completed four years of high school in 1950, are given in Table XVIII. These figures are for the urban place. It is interesting to note that, although the median years of school completed is higher for Baton Rouge than for Shreveport, as discussed above, the latter city shows a greater percentage than Baton Rouge of those completing four years of high school. The proportions for the total population are: Shreveport, 19.7 per cent and Baton Rouge, 18.6 per cent; for males, Shreveport, 17.7 per cent and Baton Rouge, 15.7; and for

TABLE XVIII

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED, BY SEX, FOR URBAN PLACE, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Urban Place	Total Population	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	18.6	15.7	21.3
Shreveport	19.7	17.7	21.7

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

females, Shreveport 21.7 per cent as opposed to 21.3 per cent for Baton Rouge.

Whites. Table XIX, for standard metropolitan areas, which gives the subdivision by race as well as by sex of those persons completing high school, presents the proportion of white persons 25 years of age and over who have completed four years of high school. Shreveport has a higher percentage completing high school among white males (21.5 per cent) than Baton Rouge (19.1 per cent). The proportions completing four years of high school among white females are almost equal, with 27.8 per cent in Shreveport as compared to 27.6 per cent in Baton Rouge.

These data show that in both cities a much higher proportion of white females than white males complete high school. This sex differential may be attributable to the greater employment opportunities for young adult males than for females. Also related may be the fact that females usually do work of a clerical nature which requires as a minimum amount of education the high school diploma. Another possible factor relative to the higher proportions of high school graduates in the total and the white populations of Shreveport as compared to Baton Rouge, is also related to employment. That is, the blue-collar type of employment for young adults in Baton Rouge is not as likely to demand the completion of high school as the more highly specialized white-collar jobs in Shreveport. Since the high schools

TABLE XIX

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED, BY RACE AND SEX, STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT, AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1950*

	Per Cent								
	All Classes			White			Nonwhite		
Area	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	16.7	14.1	19.3	23.4	19.1	27.6	2.9	2.9	2.9
Shreveport	17.3	15.2	19.1	24.8	21.5	27.8	2.7	2.4	3.0
Louisiana Rural-farm	4.2	3.3	5.1	6.3	4.9	7.8	.5	.4	.5

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

offer rudimentary training in bookkeeping and typing, this might provide an incentive to young people to complete the secondary course of study.

Nonwhites. The nonwhites in these urban centers present two notable variations from the other population categories. First of all, within each city, the males and females are much more nearly equal in educational attainment than is true among whites. In Baton Rouge the two sexes have the same percentage (2.9) of persons who have completed high school, and in Shreveport there is slightly more than one-half of one percentage point difference in favor of females (3.0 per cent for females to 2.4 per cent for males).

Another variation appears in the change presented by the nonwhites in relative percentages between the two cities. Among nonwhite males, Baton Rouge has a slightly larger proportion completing four years of high school (2.9 per cent) as compared to Shreveport (2.4 per cent). Among nonwhite females the proportions completing high school are virtually equal, 3.0 per cent in Shreveport in contrast to 2.9 per cent in Baton Rouge. On the whole, the nonwhite populations of these two urban centers are remarkably alike insofar as the proportions completing high school are concerned.

Rural-urban differentials. At the secondary school level the rural residents in contrast to urban residents of all classes have great disadvantages. Actually, the percentage of rural-farm persons

completing four years of high school is only one-fourth that of the urban population. Among white rural males 4.9 per cent completed four years of high school in contrast to 19.1 per cent for the same group in Baton Rouge and 21.5 per cent in Shreveport. The rural-farm females are considerably better educated than their brothers. Actually 7.8 per cent of them had completed four years of high school. However, in contrast to their counterparts in Baton Rouge and Shreveport, among whom more than 27.0 per cent had completed high school, theirs is serious disadvantage. This condition is a general one throughout the state.[13]

Even with the disturbingly low proportions (3.0 per cent or less) of the urban nonwhites completing high school, the rural-farm Negro is in a worse plight, with not even one-half of one per cent of his group achieving this educational level.

Proportion Completing Four Years or More of College

The proportions having a college education in the two municipalities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport are presented in Table XX. Having noted the generally superior record of Shreveport in secondary education, one would not expect the wide divergence represented by the figures in this table. Baton Rouge exhibits decidedly higher

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[13] Smith and Hitt, op. cit., p. 106.

TABLE XX

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH FOUR OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE COMPLETED, BY SEX, FOR URBAN PLACE, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Urban Place	Total Population	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	11.3	13.4	9.2
Shreveport	8.7	10.2	7.4

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

achievement than Shreveport at the college level.

Total Population. For the total populations, 11.3 per cent of the adults in the Capital City have completed four or more years of college, as contrasted with only 8.7 per cent of those in Shreveport. Among males, 13.4 per cent occupied this educational status in Baton Rouge as opposed to 10.2 per cent in Shreveport. According to this particular measure of educational attainment, in Baton Rouge 9.2 per cent of the females had completed college and Shreveport females had only 7.4 per cent in that category.

The data also show that males exceed females in the proportion completing four or more years of college. This is the reverse of the situation regarding those who had completed high school. In regard to secondary education, proportionately more girls had finished high school than boys.

It is possible to compare the total, white, and nonwhite populations of the standard metropolitan areas of Shreveport and Baton Rouge at the college level, (See Table XXI). The differentials observed further indicate the greater educational attainment of the Baton Rouge area over that of Shreveport in the realm of higher education for its citizens.

Whites. Among white males in Baton Rouge 11.9 per cent, as compared to 8.2 per cent for that group in Shreveport, had completed four or more years of college. The white females in both urban areas

TABLE XXI

PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WITH FOUR OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE COMPLETED, BY RACE AND SEX, STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS, BATON ROUGE, SHREVEPORT, AND LOUISIANA RURAL-FARM: 1950*

	Per Cent								
	All Classes			White			Nonwhite		
Area	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Baton Rouge	10.2	11.9	8.6	13.4	16.0	10.8	3.5	2.9	4.1
Shreveport	7.2	8.2	6.3	10.2	11.7	8.8	1.5	1.1	1.8
Louisiana Rural-farm	1.5	1.3	1.7	2.1	1.9	2.4	.3	.2	.4

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 157, 158, Table 65.

have a much less impressive record insofar as college attendance is concerned, with 10.8 per cent and 8.8 per cent in Baton Rouge and Shreveport, respectively, completing four years of college or more.

The explanation for these differences between the sexes in level of educational attainment seems fairly obvious. After graduating from high school in greater proportions than males, the great majority of white females take white-collar jobs or marry. The men, in order to marry, and also support families, need higher educational training to secure better jobs. In many cases the wife works to help her husband achieve his college degree, recognizing the greater importance to the family of his bread-winning ability. The fact that males are more highly educated in both of these metropolitan areas tends to support these explanations.

The more impressive achievement of the Baton Rouge population regarding college attendance, in comparison to Shreveport, is attributable to the presence of a great State University in that city. Louisiana State University has been contributing to the higher education of Louisiana's youth since 1860 and it was established with its present name in the city of Baton Rouge in 1870. It has special colleges and schools and a graduate school, which make possible college training beyond the four-year undergraduate program. The availability of these educational opportunities has undoubtedly weighed heavily in influencing the proportion of Baton Rouge's inhabitants completing

four or more years of college. Many of those who have spent four or more years as students at the university acquiring professional training remain in the city of Baton Rouge as permanent citizens, and thus influence that city's proportion of persons with four or more years of college completed. Also, in the 1950 Census, college students living away from home were considered residents of the communities in which they were residing while attending college, rather than as persons temporarily absent from their parental homes, as was the practice in 1940 and preceding census counts. Since Louisiana State University is constituted largely of students who live on campus, this is an important factor in affecting the population of Baton Rouge. The sex ratio of the university population is 268.3 for June, 1955, which doubtless contributes to the superior record of Baton Rouge males over females in attaining college education.

Shreveport, also, is the seat of an institution of higher education, Centenary College, (established 1825 and located in Shreveport since 1908), which has the distinction of being the oldest college west of the Mississippi River. This college, the property and charter of which were acquired by the Methodist Church in 1845, offers many educational advantages to that city. However, Centenary College, being a private, church-related, liberal arts college, is not tax supported like the State University. In enrollment, the University is more than six times as large as Centenary College.

Nonwhites. Until very recent times the nonwhites have not been admitted to the same colleges and universities as the whites. This is still largely true, although the situation is changing. Consequently, the opportunities for higher education in the nonwhite racial group have been relatively poor.

Baton Rouge has a much better record of college attendance among its nonwhites than Shreveport, with proportionately about three times as many of her Negroes completing four years of college or more. In 1950, among nonwhite males, Baton Rouge had 2.9 per cent as compared with 1.1 per cent in Shreveport who have attained this level. A notable variation from the pattern of higher education among whites is that nonwhite females surpass nonwhite males in acquiring college training. Baton Rouge's much higher proportion of 4.1 per cent of college-educated nonwhite females contrasts strikingly with 1.8 per cent in that educational category among women of the Negro race in Shreveport.

The reasons for these differentials are also fairly evident. There is a large Negro university (Southern University) located in Baton Rouge, while the only north Louisiana college that is open to Negroes is Grambling College which is about 75 miles from Shreveport. The sex ratio at Southern University in the spring of 1955 was 60.0, which according to the Registrar of that institution

is about the average proportion of males to 100 females there.

The reason for the pronouncedly higher proportion of college trained persons among the nonwhite females than among males in Baton Rouge is doubtless primarily economic. About the only fields open to the college trained Negro have been medicine and teaching, with teaching by far the most important. The teaching profession has always attracted more females than males, among nonwhites as well as among whites. Now that Negroes are admitted to the graduate school at Louisiana State University, the proportion of females with advanced college training among nonwhites in Baton Rouge will probably be considerably increased. With the greater number of nonwhite women than men already in the teaching field and the prospect of a higher salary scale which accompanies the masters degree, undoubtedly the proportion of Negro women who seek a college education will continue to increase. Although there are technical schools for training Negroes, such as business and trade schools, Shreveport nonwhites do not have the same opportunities for acquiring college training that Negroes do in Baton Rouge.

Rural-urban Differentials. In all classes the rural-farm resident fails to have the same opportunities for acquiring education at the college level as his urban counterpart. Baton Rouge reported 10.2 per cent and Shreveport 7.2 per cent, while the rural-farm group had

only 1.5 per cent, of their total adult populations having completed four or more years of college in 1950. In other words, these cities have five to seven times greater proportions of college trained persons than rural-farm Louisiana. The differential among whites is even greater--13.4 per cent in Baton Rouge, 10.2 per cent in Shreveport, and 2.1 per cent in the rural-farm areas. The percentage of persons with college training among rural-farm nonwhites is practically nil, being less than one-third of one per cent in most cases. A lack of facilities coupled with a lack of incentive probably explains this situation. An important rural-urban differential is presented clearly in these data regarding educational status at the college level.

Enrollment in Kindergarten

In Louisiana, kindergartens are not yet incorporated into the public school system. In 1950, all kindergartens were operated as private schools. This fact made them exclusive because of the tuition involved. Also, the majority of six-year olds were in attendance at public school, in the first grade, under the compulsory education law. Table XXII shows the enrollment in kindergarten of children five and six years of age in Baton Rouge and Shreveport in 1950. These data are not subdivided according to race, because it is not likely that there were any Negro children enrolled in

TABLE XXII

KINDERGARTEN ENROLLMENT[1] OF CHILDREN FIVE AND SIX YEARS OLD, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Urban Place and Age	Both Sexes			Male			Female		
	Total	Enrolled in Kindergarten		Total	Enrolled in Kindergarten		Total	Enrolled in Kindergarten	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Baton Rouge									
Total Enrollment	4,845	295	6.1	2,375	150	6.3	2,470	145	5.9
5 Years Old	2,385	225	9.4	1,190	110	9.2	1,195	115	9.6
6 Years Old	2,460	70	2.8	1,185	40	3.4	1,275	30	2.4
Shreveport									
Total Enrollment	4,605	365	7.9	2,345	180	7.7	2,260	185	8.2
5 Years Old	2,395	290	12.1	1,260	150	11.9	1,135	140	12.3
6 Years Old	2,210	75	3.4	1,085	30	2.8	1,125	45	4.0

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-C18, Louisiana: Detailed Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. 139, Table 61.

[1] Based on a 20 per cent sample.

kindergarten.

Totals. At the five and six-year age levels, 6.1 per cent of the Baton Rouge youngsters were in attendance at kindergarten, as compared to 7.9 per cent in Shreveport. For reasons presented above, the greater proportion of these children were five-year-olds. In Baton Rouge 9.4 per cent of the five-year old group were in kindergarten as compared to 12.1 per cent in Shreveport. Of the six-year-olds, Shreveport had 3.4 per cent in kindergarten as opposed to 2.8 per cent in Baton Rouge.

Males. Analyzed by sex, the north Louisiana city had a greater proportion of both boys and girls in kindergarten than Baton Rouge. In Shreveport 7.7 per cent of the males among five and six-year olds attended kindergarten compared to 6.3 per cent in Baton Rouge. Of these, 11.9 per cent in the former city, and 9.2 per cent in the latter, were in their fifth year of life. Among the six-year-old group 3.4 per cent attended kindergarten in Baton Rouge as compared to 2.8 per cent in Shreveport. The higher proportion among six-year old boys in Baton Rouge would suggest the influence of parochial schools in this south Louisiana city, if it were consistent. However, since it is not true for both sexes, this explanation does not appear valid.

Females. Shreveport had a consistently higher proportion

of little girls in attendance at kindergarten than did the city of Baton Rouge in 1950. For the ages of five and six years, the respective percentages were 8.2 and 5.9, which means that Shreveport's proportion of children in Kindergarten is about one-fourth greater than that of Baton Rouge. Among children aged five years, 12.3 per cent of the females in Shreveport were in kindergarten and 9.6 in Baton Rouge. In the female group six years old, 4.0 per cent in Shreveport's population were enrolled in a private institution of learning as compared with only 2.4 per cent (approximately half as many) in kindergarten in the Capital City.

The greater relative importance of parochial schools in Catholic south Louisiana suggests that a higher proportion of youngsters would be in attendance at kindergarten in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport. The reason this is not the case is possibly because Shreveport has been a large urban center for a great many years longer than Baton Rouge. The kindergarten has been largely an urban institution. With increasing population pressure certain conditions tend to develop, e.g. public schools become more crowded; more mothers work outside of their homes with added employment opportunities for women; and certain classes of the population desire to segregate their children from the masses of other children. These, or related urban conditions, may have resulted in the

differential kindergarten enrollment in the cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

Progress

Interested persons are aware of the improvement being made in educational attainment in the state of Louisiana. However, since the actual amount of schooling completed has been presented in the federal census only since 1940, the improvement can best be measured by comparing the educational achievement of young adults with that of older persons, in 1950. The latter groups completed their schooling several decades ago, therefore this method will serve to reveal, in a limited manner, the changes that have occurred.

The extent of increase in the amount of schooling completed in these two important urban centers of Louisiana is shown in Figures 44, 45, 46, and 47. Figures 44 and 45 deal with the total populations and include the rural-farm population. Figures 46 and 47 subdivide the populations of the two cities by race and sex.

Males. The change in the amount of schooling completed by males is shown in Figure 44. While males in Shreveport exhibit a relatively greater achievement throughout the years, in the ages between 25 and 35 years men in Baton Rouge have attained an even higher level of education. However, the difference amounts to only about half a grade. The longer history of Shreveport as an urban

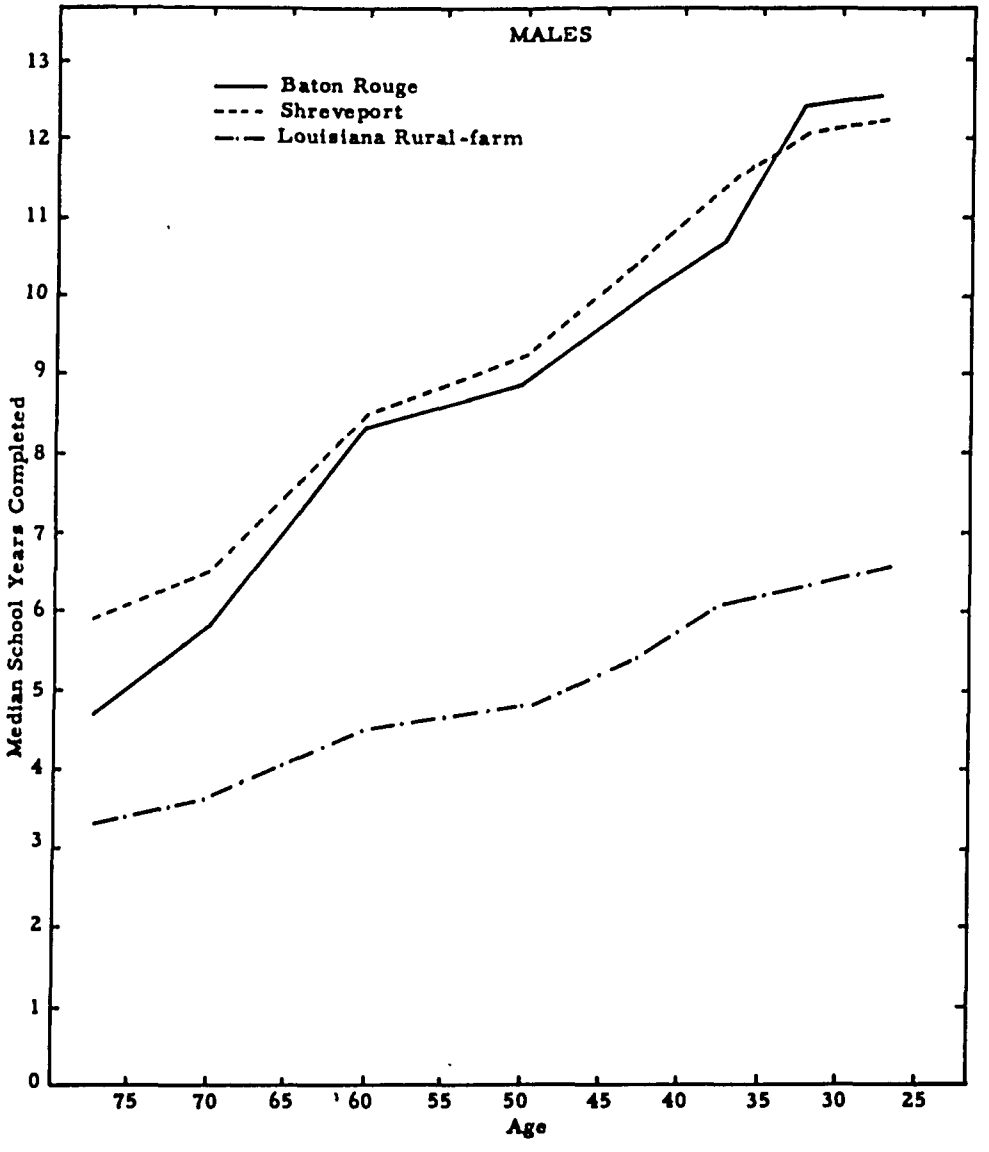

Figure 44. Relationship of age to average years of schooling attained by males, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

center is reflected in the higher level of formal schooling in the ages over 40 years. The greatest gap between the two cities is in the ages over 75 years, where Shreveport's males have had approximately a grade and a half more formal schooling than those of Baton Rouge.

Both cities show consistent progress. In Baton Rouge men over 75 years of age reached a level of 4.8 median years of schooling as compared to 12.5 years for young adult males in 1950, a difference of 7.7 years of training. The median in Shreveport of 5.9 years for oldsters and 12.2 years for young males 25 years of age in 1950 represents an advance of 6.3 years of training.

The rural-farm males, although far below the achievement of urban males, acquired median years of schooling of 3.3 in the older ages to 5.1 among young adults, a total of 1.8 more years for the young males. The change was not as extensive as in the urban areas, particularly in Baton Rouge, but it was consistent.

Females. The amounts of schooling acquired by the females in various age groups of these urban populations are much more nearly equal than that for males (See Figure 45). The same general relationship exists as to educational achievement in the two areas. Shreveport's females between the ages of 40 and 75 years have had slightly more formal schooling than those of Baton Rouge, but in the

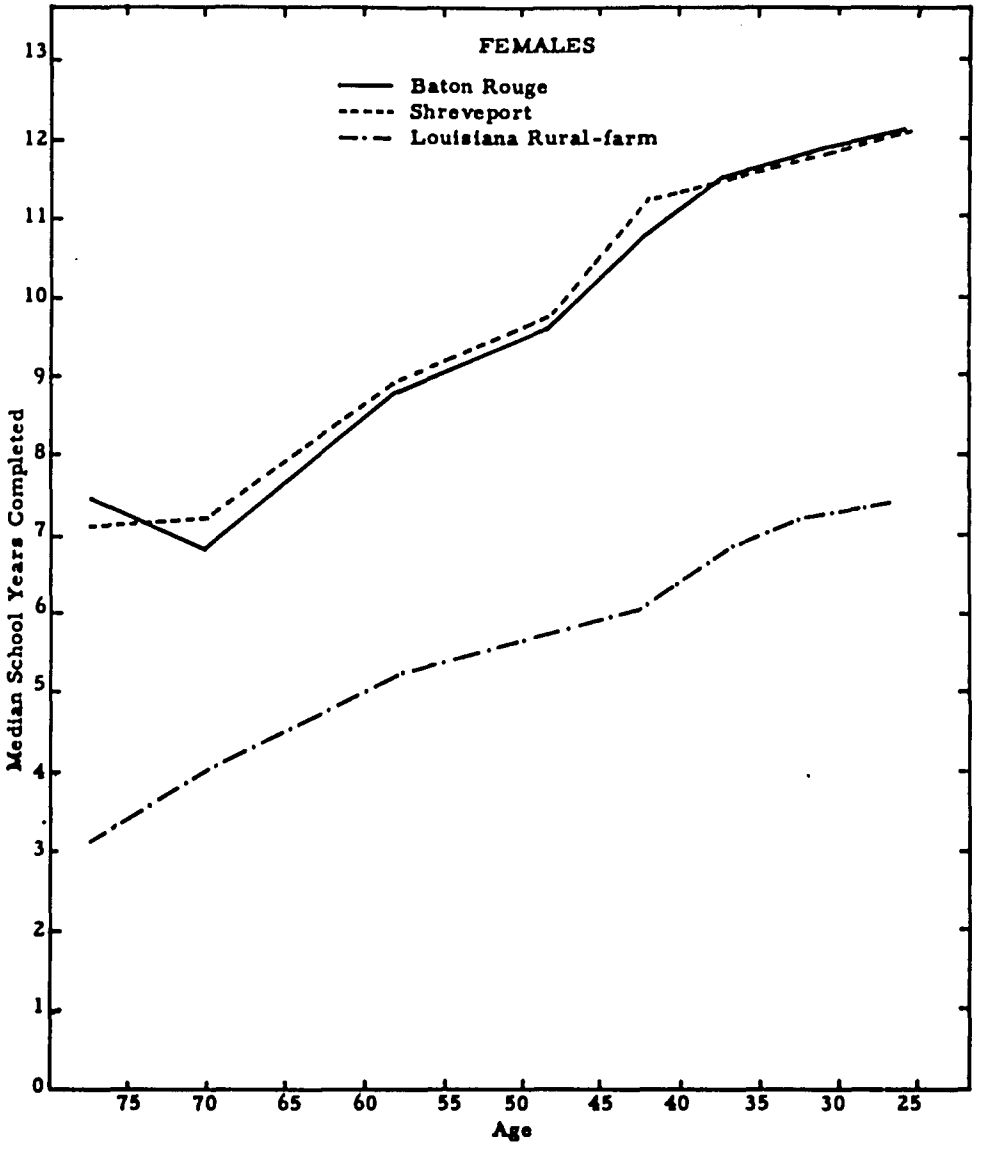

Figure 45. Relationship of age to average years of schooling attained by females, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

latter city females have a higher educational attainment for the age groups 25 to 40 years, in 1950.

In the matter of educational achievement, Shreveport has a slightly better record than Baton Rouge, with 7.1 median years of schooling in the ages over 75 years and 12.1 median years completed at the 25 to 30 year age level. The range extends from 7.4 median years to 12.1 median years in the same age groups in Baton Rouge. Actually, the difference is insignificant, being less than one-half a year's schooling at any point.

The older rural-farm females acquired 3.1 median years of schooling and the young women 7.3, or a total of 4.2 years difference, as compared with a difference of five years for the same groups among Shreveport females, and 4.7 added years of training for those in Baton Rouge. The increase in years of schooling among rural females compared much more nearly to that of urban females than is true of rural and urban males.

Whites. Figure 46, which represents the difference in the amount of schooling for the white population aged 25 to 30 years, and 75 years and over, of Baton Rouge and Shreveport points up more clearly the differential improvement between the sexes. The older males of Baton Rouge have 3.4 median years completed compared to 11.8 for the young group, the impressive difference of 8.4 years of training. Shreveport white males reported median school years

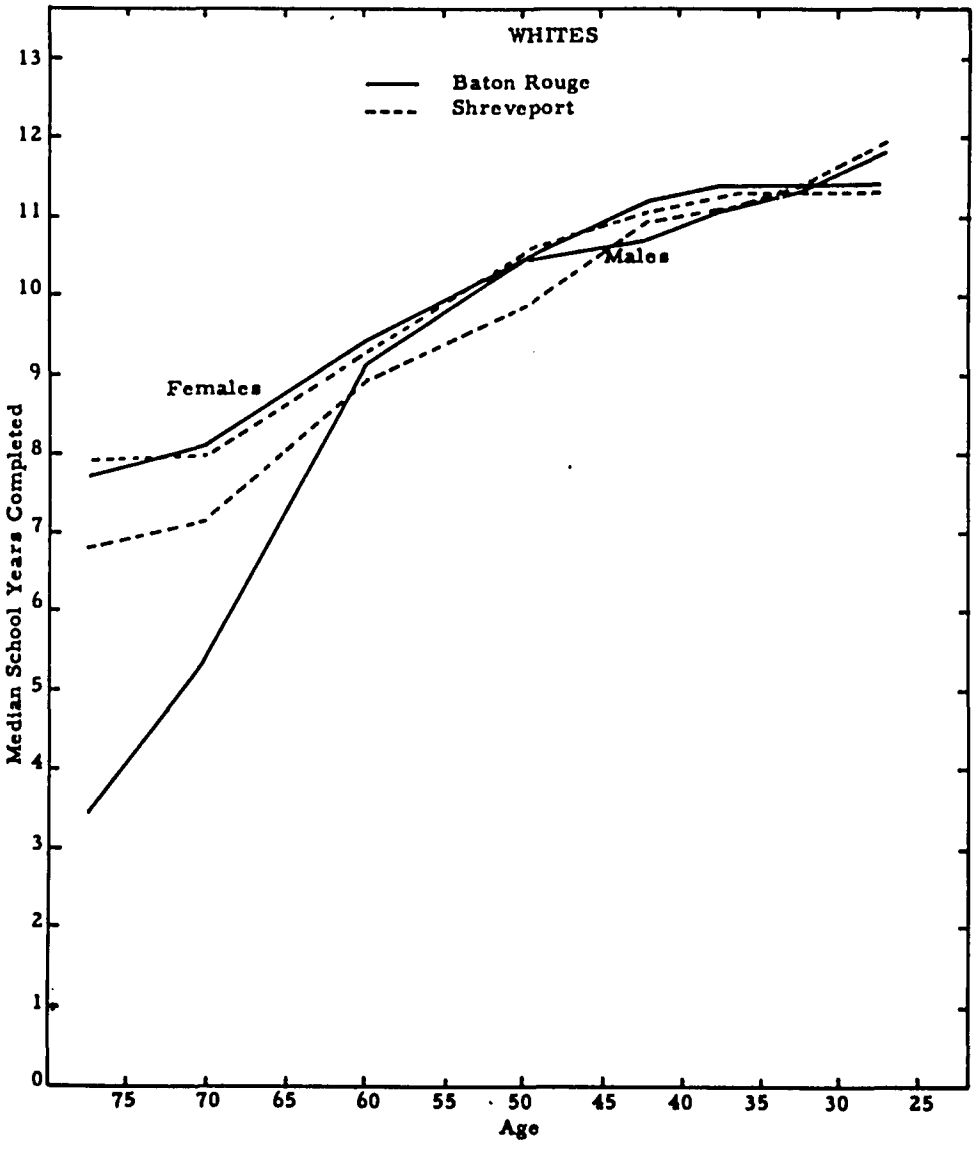

Figure 46. Relationship of age and sex to average years of schooling attained by whites, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.
(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

completed of 6.8 for the aged group to 11.9 for the younger group, or 5.1 additional years of training. Thus, although Shreveport white males in 1950 have a slightly higher educational attainment than those of Baton Rouge, the relative change has been pronouncedly greater in Baton Rouge.

Among white females, those in Baton Rouge have also made greater improvement in educational attainment than the white females in Shreveport. The former completed 11.4 median years of schooling in the ages 25 to 30 years, and those over 75 years of age had completed 7.7 median years, an improvement of 3.7 more years of training for the young persons. In Shreveport the corresponding figures are 11.3 median years and 7.9 years, or 3.4 additional years of schooling in the younger group. As in the case of the total populations, the females of the two cities have very similar records of educational attainment. The white females do not display as wide a gap between median grades of schooling for young women and aged women as do the white males in the same ages.

Nonwhites. The change in the educational status of the nonwhite populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport is illustrated in Figure 47. The males of this racial group in Baton Rouge made the greater advancement in educational attainment. The Baton Rouge aged reported zero years of schooling completed on the average, and the youth

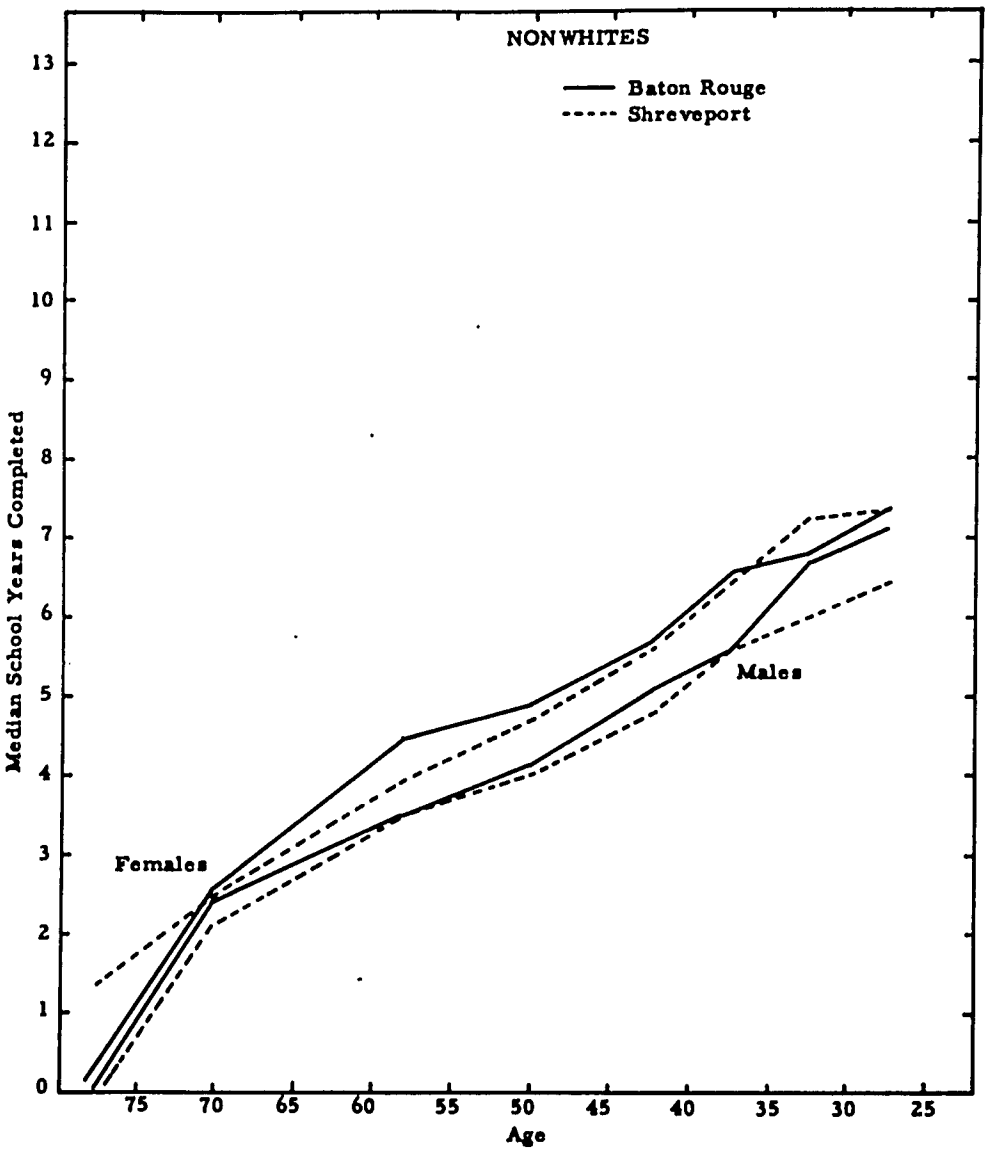

Figure 47. Relationship of age and sex to average years of schooling attained by nonwhites, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1950.

(SOURCE: UNITED STATES CENSUS OF POPULATION: 1950)

aged 25 to 30 years had 7.1 median years of training. Comparable figures for Shreveport nonwhite males are zero and 6.4 median years. In each instance the increase in median years of schooling is a remarkable achievement and, in the case of Shreveport, represents a greater change than was indicated among the white males.

The nonwhite female population of the Capital City also shows a greater educational achievement over that of the corresponding group in Shreveport. The Baton Rouge nonwhite females acquired zero median years of schooling among aged women but 7.3 years for women aged 25 to 30 years, while those in Shreveport completed 1.3 median years to 7.3 median years of schooling respectively. The difference is six full years more schooling for the younger group in Shreveport, but even this was less than the 7.3 years difference in Baton Rouge.

In comparison with the improvement made by white females, the record of this nonwhite female group indicates clearly the increasingly favorable conditions for the Southern Negro to obtain a formal education. The Negro females gained 7.3 years, compared to the 3.7 years gained among white females in Baton Rouge. In Shreveport the nonwhite females' six-year improvement contrasts with that of 3.4 years gained among the white females. Notwithstanding the greater gain, the educational status of the nonwhites was, of course, inferior to that of the whites at all ages.

General Conclusions

In both of these progressive Louisiana cities the median years of schooling completed by the adult populations is about eleven years or just one year under completion of high school. Actually, Louisiana high schools contained only eleven grades until 1944, which means that this median was equivalent to completion of high school. Baton Rouge has a slightly higher record in educational attainment according to this index than Shreveport, but they are very similar. Each city has achieved a median of about three and a half years more than that for Louisiana as a whole and almost two years more than the median years of schooling for the United States as a whole. Also, they both rank higher in this respect than any other urban center in Louisiana.

Educational differences between the residents of Baton Rouge and Shreveport are not entirely consistent. According to one measure Baton Rougeans will appear to have an advantage in educational attainment, but the next index may indicate superior educational status among Shreveporters. On the basis of the proportion of children attending kindergarten, the median years of schooling attained by adults, the proportion of adults with no schooling, the proportion of adults with four years of high school completed, and the proportion of adults with four or more years of college completed, the following

differentials are established:

Shreveport has a slightly higher proportion of children five and six years of age attending kindergarten than does Baton Rouge. Baton Rouge adults have attained higher median years of schooling than Shreveport adults, with the exception of white females. In the latter category, Shreveport's median is higher. In both cities, females are consistently better educated than males, except among whites in Baton Rouge where the median years of schooling is the same for both sexes.

In the total populations, the two cities have equal proportions of adults with no schooling. In each instance the proportion of males exceeds that of females in this category, but Shreveport has relatively more males with no schooling than Baton Rouge. In Baton Rouge a slightly higher proportion of females is classified as having no schooling than in Shreveport.

Proportionately, white rural-farm persons are much more commonly found with no schooling than the residents of either urban center. Rural-farm nonwhites in this category are relatively more numerous than urban nonwhites. Baton Rouge and Shreveport both have very low proportions of adults with no schooling.

Shreveport has relatively more persons with four years of high school completed than Baton Rouge and both cities have proportionately more females than males in this class, in both races.

In the realm of higher education, Baton Rouge has a record superior to that of Shreveport. Among both whites and nonwhites proportionately more males and females in the Capital City have completed four or more years of college than in Shreveport. At this level, among whites in both cities, males exceeded females in proportions of college graduates. Among nonwhites, in both cities females exceeded males in this educational achievement.

Whites show much higher educational achievement than nonwhites in both Baton Rouge and Shreveport. The urban centers reach a higher level in educational attainment than the rural-farm population of Louisiana in all categories. The inequalities of educational opportunity between these residential and racial groups are unquestionable. In educational attainment the farmer in Louisiana compares more unfavorably with the urban dweller than anywhere else in the nation.[14]

Considerable progress has been made in the educational attainment of these two populations during the past five decades. This improvement can be approximated by comparing the median years of schooling completed at the different age levels between 25 and 75 years. Populations of both cities have increased a minimum of 3.4 years in educational training. These data indicate that all

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[14] Ibid., p. 100.

classes of the population of Baton Rouge, except white females, have made greater improvement in educational attainment during the past several decades than those in the population of Shreveport. On the whole, females have improved more than males. With the exception of white males in Baton Rouge, the nonwhite populations, male and female, have made much greater improvement than the white populations. And, although the gap in educational status is still wide between the two racial groups, it is closing faster than that between any of the other population segments. Actually, the differentials in educational attainment are greater between the urban and rural-farm populations than are those between urban whites and urban Negroes.

There is no doubt that the whole situation relative to education in these two Southern cities is improving. It is pertinent to emphasize the statement made earlier that data presented in this chapter are largely concerned with adults 25 years of age and older. Interested persons are aware that improved school facilities, higher enrollments and better school attendance have been increasingly effective since the 1940 Census. Persons aged 25 years at the time of the 1950 Census were already 15 years old in 1940, however, and therefore did not benefit from the improved educational conditions. Many of them had "finished" with schooling and were seeking jobs during the last years of the great depression. Therefore the results of the recent improved educational conditions in Louisiana and other

Southern States are not significantly reflected in the census data of 1950.

It is a safe prediction, however, that 1960 census reports on education will indicate a marked decrease in illiteracy, both literal and functional, and will record notable progress in the educational attainment of all of Louisiana's citizens, both rural and urban dwellers. This prediction is safe because a considerable share of the state's residents 25 years of age or older in 1960 will have had the advantages of educational improvements made in Louisiana during the past two or three decades.

CHAPTER X

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

The data on the occupational composition of a population provide important criteria for determining the entire social structure of a society. Heberle points out that not only the level of living of the people but their chances of improvement and the future of their offspring are dependent upon available occupations and opportunities for employment.[1] In turn the position of persons in the occupation hierarchy will largely determine the social alignments which they form and the economic and prestige statuses which they may achieve.[2]

It is clear that one's economic position bears directly upon other important social characteristics. According to Sorokin and Zimmerman, man's occupational, economic, and socio-political positions determine most of the traits of his personality.[3] Occupational status influences such other demographic phenomena as

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[1] Rudolf Heberle, The Labor Force in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948) p. 1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-urban Sociology (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1929) p. 61.

educational status, fertility, longevity and marital status.

Persons in different industries and occupations are subject to different health hazards and will have varying rates of morbidity and mortality. Hence, certain urban centers may provide relatively hazardous conditions while others offer the more sheltered and safer occupations. This would depend upon the function served by each urban area in question.[4] Thompson states that birth rates tend to be higher where fewer women are employed outside the home, such as in centers of heavy industry.[5] On the other hand, in communities where light industry and business employ many women, there is a lower birth rate among the married, and relatively fewer women live in the married state.[6]

In view of the particular characteristics that have already been treated in this study, the above named factors appear to be highly significant for the two cities under consideration. The way in which people earn a living influences all aspects of their lives, and establishes typical patterns for total groups of persons.

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[4] Thompson, Population Problems, pp. 99-101.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 165.

The Data

In the United States the collection of data on occupations was begun by the Census Bureau in 1820. At that time little differentiation was made. The occupations were classified in three broad groups; viz, agriculture, commerce and manufacturing. Since that time each decennial census has made a more systematic and complete collection of occupational data. The economic data since 1940 are classified under the labor force and present detailed information relative to occupation, industry, employment and income. In the 1950 census the labor force includes all persons 14 years old and over classified as employed or unemployed, who are employable.[7]

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

The Labor Force

In the census of 1950, among the 125,629 persons in Baton Rouge, 91,956 (73.2 per cent) were 14 years of age and older. (See Table XXIII) In Shreveport's population of 127,206, 95,293 (74.9 per cent) were in the same age classes. Of these, 49,152 and 54,396 persons in Baton Rouge and Shreveport, respectively, were in the labor force. This represents 53.5 per cent of the Capital City's

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[7] United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin, P-B18, op. cit., p. x.

TABLE XXIII

PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OLDER AND PER CENT IN THE LABOR FORCE, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area	Per Cent of Total Population Fourteen Years Old and Older	Per Cent of Total Population Fourteen Years Old and Older in the Labor Force
Baton Rouge		
Total	73.2	53.5
Male	72.4	76.3
Female	74.0	32.2
Shreveport		
Total	74.9	57.1
Male	73.0	80.8
Female	76.6	37.1

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52-53, Table 35.

population who are 14 years of age or older and 57.1 per cent of those in Shreveport. Thus Shreveport has a greater number and a greater proportion of persons who are either employed or seeking employment than does Baton Rouge. The percentage of the total population who were employed is 40.6 in Shreveport and 37.3 in Baton Rouge. This represents 95.5 of those in the civilian labor force of Baton Rouge and 95.0 per cent of that of Shreveport.

In both cities, males outnumber the females in the labor force. The proportions in Baton Rouge were 76.3 per cent males and 32.2 per cent females; as compared to 80.8 per cent males and 37.1 per cent females in Shreveport. The higher relative importance of employed males over females in Baton Rouge and the greater relative importance of females in the Shreveport labor force are indicative of the different types of employment that predominate in the two municipalities.

In Shreveport there are higher proportions of white and nonwhite adults in the labor force than in Baton Rouge. Among whites in the north Louisiana city, 55.6 per cent are included in the labor force as compared with 52.3 per cent in Baton Rouge. It may well be that with the relatively higher wage scale in industry in Baton Rouge, it is not necessary for as many members of a family to seek paid employment in that city as in the lower-salaried white-collar job situation in Shreveport.

Whites are heavily predominant numerically over nonwhites,

but Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the labor force of these two Louisiana cities (See Table XXIV). In Baton Rouge 14,257, or 56.6 per cent of the adults of this racial group were in the labor force; and in Shreveport's labor force 18,178 constituted 60.3 per cent of the nonwhite adults. Shreveport's greater proportion of Negroes in the labor force over that of Baton Rouge is probably due to some extent to the greater proportion of this race in the total population (see Chapter V). The higher industrial incomes would operate similarly in this group as with whites, lessening the necessary number of "bread winners" in a family. That the proportions of nonwhites in the labor force in these two cities are high is recognized by a comparison with similar percentages for Louisiana and the nation which were 38.2 per cent and 10.6 per cent, respectively, in 1940.[8]

White males are numbered in the labor force to a considerable extent more than are white females, in both Baton Rouge and Shreveport. However, the proportion in Shreveport (83.4 per cent males to 31.3 per cent females) is more distinctive than that found in Baton Rouge (76.4 per cent males and 28.6 per cent females). Members of both sexes are employed in relatively greater numbers in Shreveport than in the Capital City.

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[8] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 113.

TABLE XXIV

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OLDER IN THE LABOR FORCE, BY COLOR AND SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area	Number in Labor Force	Per Cent in Labor Force
Baton Rouge		
Whites		
Total	84,895	52.3
Male	25,238	76.4
Female	9,657	28.6
Nonwhites		
Total	14,257	56.6
Male	8,604	75.8
Female	5,653	40.9
Shreveport		
Whites		
Total	36,218	55.6
Male	25,355	83.4
Female	10,863	31.3
Nonwhites		
Total	18,178	60.3
Male	9,835	74.8
Female	8,343	49.6

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52-53, Table 35, pp. 54-55, Table 36.

Among the Negroes in the labor force, males outnumber females, with Shreveport's proportion of females being higher than that of Baton Rouge. The nonwhite percentages are: for Baton Rouge, 75.8 per cent males, 40.9 per cent females, 14 years of age and over, and for Shreveport, 74.8 per cent males and 49.6 per cent females, 14 years of age and over. A possible explanation of the greater proportion of nonwhite females in the Shreveport labor force is the higher earning capacity of the nonwhite males in Baton Rouge, making it less necessary for the wives to work in the latter city. The relative difference between the sexes in the employed labor force is less among nonwhites, indicating that proportionately more Negro women are employed outside the home than are white women.

Not in Labor Force

Of those not in the labor force, 57.9 per cent in Baton Rouge and 61.5 per cent in Shreveport are keeping house. In both cities more than three-fourths of these persons are women. Males in this category are largely classified as unable to work. The percentage of males thus classified is 14.9 to 5.1 for females in Baton Rouge, and 31.4 per cent for males to 7.8 per cent females in Shreveport. The persons not classified as keeping house who are not in the labor force are divided as follows: unable to work, 7.5 per cent in Baton Rouge and 12.6 per cent in Shreveport; and inmates of institutions, .4 in Baton Rouge and 1.1 in Shreveport. These proportions are apparently

indicative of the differential age and sex composition of the two cities. The higher percentages of persons unable to work and being cared for in institutions in Shreveport are probably influenced by the relatively greater number of the aging and aged in the population of that city as compared to Baton Rouge.

Occupational Status

In the 1950 Census of Population, information on (1) class of worker, (2) occupation, and (3) major industry was collected for persons in the experienced civilian labor force. All three items related to one specific job held by the employed person. For an experienced unemployed person, the information referred to the last job he had held.[9]

Class of Worker

An attempt to distinguish between employer and employees,[10] and to separate employees according to civilian or governmental service was made for the first time in the 1940 Census of Population. This classification is made according to class of worker which includes: (1) private wage and salary workers, (2) government workers, (3) self-employed workers, and (4) unpaid family workers. In any attempt to

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[9] United States Census of Population, 1950, Bulletin P-B18, op. cit., p. x.

[10] Heberle, op. cit., p. 66.

classify these persons according to distinct socio-economic functions, the category of self-employed workers would be misleading in that it includes such groups as tenants, sharecroppers and others whose working situation more nearly resembles that of a wage earner.[11] On the other hand, executives and managers of large corporations are classified as private wage and salary workers because they do not own their businesses. Heberle states, "On the whole one may assume that the proportions of persons depending virtually on compensation for their own labor are understated and that the proportions of real entrepreneurs are much smaller than the 'class' of employers and workers on own account."[12]

The percentage distribution of employed persons fourteen years of age and over, by class of worker and sex for Baton Rouge and Shreveport in 1950, is presented in Table XXV. The highest proportion of workers in both of these municipalities is found in the category of "private wage and salary workers." In Shreveport the proportion of 80.6 per cent surpasses the 76.9 per cent classified thus in Baton Rouge. The second ranking category in Baton Rouge, (14.9 per cent) is that of "government workers." However, this category takes

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[11] Ibid., p. 72.

[12] Ibid.

TABLE XXV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OLDER, BY CLASS OF WORKER AND SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Area	Private Wage and Salary Workers	Government Workers	Self-employed Workers	Unpaid Family Workers
Baton Rouge				
Total	76.9	14.9	7.8	.4
Male	78.8	11.7	9.5	.1
Female	72.9	21.8	4.3	.9
Shreveport				
Total	80.6	9.2	10.0	.2
Male	79.5	8.3	12.2	.1
Female	82.5	11.0	6.0	.5

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana; General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52, 53, Table 35.

third place in Shreveport, with only 9.2 per cent of the workers in that city so employed. The location of the State Capital at Baton Rouge largely accounts for this differential. Shreveport's second most important category (10.0 per cent) and Baton Rouge's third (7.8 per cent) is that of "self-employed workers." The category "unpaid family workers" ranks fourth and last in both cities and is apparently of negligible importance. Less than one-half of one percentage point of the workers in Baton Rouge and Shreveport are classified in the last category.

In Baton Rouge males have higher proportions employed than females in only two categories. In the "private wage and salary workers" classification males have the higher percentage of 78.8 as compared to 72.9 for females, and in the category of "self-employed workers" the males have more than twice as great proportions as do females (9.5 per cent to 4.3 per cent). Among "government workers" females are employed almost twice as frequently as males (21.8 per cent to 11.7 per cent). And in the unimportant category of "unpaid family workers" the females are nine times as numerous as males (.9 per cent to .1 per cent).

In Shreveport females are employed in higher proportions than males in three categories. One of these is the most important category of "private wage and salary workers," in which 82.5 per cent females and 79.5 per cent males are enumerated. This differential

between Shreveport and Baton Rouge reflects the distinctive function of each city. The relatively greater importance of the white-collar economy of Shreveport as compared with the more dominant blue-collar type of employment in Baton Rouge accounts to some extent for their sex selectivity.

The other two categories in which Shreveport females are employed to a greater extent than males are the same as those in Baton Rouge, with a similar sex ratio. Among "government workers" in Shreveport, 11.0 per cent are female and 8.3 per cent male. In the category "unpaid family workers" the proportion of females is about twice as great as that of males, which does not represent quite the female predominance that Baton Rouge has in the same category.

Similar to the sex ratio in Baton Rouge, Shreveport shows the proportion of males to be twice as great as that of females among the "self-employed workers" (12.2 per cent for males and 6.0 per cent for females). This is not unexpected since males in our culture have traditionally been the entrepreneurs.

Occupational Distribution by Color and Sex

Tables XXVI and XXVII present the per cent distribution by color and sex in the major occupation group. The reasons for presenting an apparent duplication of data will become clear as the analysis proceeds.

The White Population. Among the white populations of these

two Louisiana cities (Table XXVI) the most important category in Baton Rouge is that of craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers. One-fourth of the white males in Baton Rouge are thus employed, compared to about one-fifth of the white males in Shreveport (21.2 per cent). This comprises the second most important category in the latter city. Shreveport's most important occupational category is that of clerical, sales, and kindred workers which occupies 24.6 per cent of the white males, as compared to 17.3 per cent of that group in Baton Rouge. This category ranks third in importance in Baton Rouge. The relatively high importance of these two categories, which are usually important urban occupations, is indicative of the primary function of each city, Baton Rouge being most concerned with industry and Shreveport primarily a trade center.

Operatives and kindred workers comprise Baton Rouge's second ranking occupation with about one-fifth of her white males thus employed. The 19.1 per cent in this category contrasts with the 13.3 per cent in Shreveport's population who are so employed. This category is among the five most important in Shreveport, but it ranks in fifth place in that city. In Shreveport, the category third in importance is that of managers, officials and proprietors, which occupies one-fifth of the white males of that city, but only 14.8 per cent in Baton Rouge, where it ranks fifth in importance. The fourth ranking occupation in Baton Rouge holds the same relative position in Shreveport.

TABLE XXVI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP FOR WHITE EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Major Occupation Group	Baton Rouge		Shreveport	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	15.8	18.4	14.3	16.4
Farmers and Farm Managers	.2	.1	.3	--
Managers, Officials and Proprietors, Except Farm	14.8	5.3	20.0	5.8
Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers	17.3	60.7	24.6	56.9
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	25.0	1.1	21.2	1.2
Operatives and Kindred Workers	19.1	4.2	13.3	5.9
Private Household Workers	--	1.0	--	.9
Service Workers, Except Private Household	4.2	8.0	3.6	11.3
Farm Laborers, Unpaid Family Workers	--	--	--	--
Farm Laborers, Except Unpaid Family Workers	.2	.1	.1	--
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	2.4	.2	2.1	.2
Occupation Not Reported	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.5

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52, 55, Table 35.

This is the category of professional, technical, and kindred workers, which includes 15.8 per cent of the white male population of Baton Rouge and 14.3 per cent of that group in Shreveport.

Only two occupational categories are of importance among white females. The occupations of this group in both cities center heavily in the clerical, sales, and kindred workers group. More than half of all employed females are in this category. In this instance Baton Rouge has the higher proportion with 60.7 per cent of white females engaged in this category as compared with 56.9 per cent in Shreveport.

The second occupation which comprises a significant proportion of white female workers is that of professional, technical and kindred workers. Doubtless a great majority of these women are teachers. Baton Rouge has the higher proportion employed in this category, with 18.4 per cent, compared with 16.4 per cent of Shreveport's white females who are classified in the same employment category.

The Nonwhite Population. As would be expected, the occupations of nonwhites are not generally concentrated in the same categories as are those of the white population. It is interesting that in this racial group the same four major occupations occupy the similar relative rank in both urban centers. This would suggest that color is

a greater determinant of occupational status than the particular economic function of an urban area. (See Table XXVII)

The heaviest concentration among nonwhite males is in the category of laborers (excluding those working on farms or in mining activity). Almost one-third of the Negro males in each urban community are so employed. The percentage is 31.5 for Shreveport and 31.1 for Baton Rouge. Although this category includes some workers engaged in construction, manufacturing, and other industries, it is likely that among this racial group it constitutes largely unskilled laborers.

Second in importance among the nonwhite males of these two Louisiana cities is the occupational group comprised of operatives and kindred workers. In addition to manufacturing, jobs as chauffeurs, truck drivers, delivery men, filling station and parking lot attendants are included in this category. Shreveport has the higher per cent among nonwhite males of 26.3 compared to 23.0 per cent in Baton Rouge who are engaged in this occupational group.

Service workers, (except private household) rank third in importance for nonwhite males. This group includes barbers, beauticians, elevator operators, practical nurses, waiters and bartenders. Again Shreveport records a slightly higher proportion of persons in this category than Baton Rouge but the proportions are very nearly equal. The respective percentages are 19.9 per cent and 19.1 per cent.

TABLE XXVII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP FOR NONWHITE EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Major Occupation Group	Baton Rouge		Shreveport	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	2.8	6.7	2.6	5.6
Farmers and Farm Managers	.2	--	.2	--
Managers, Officials and Proprietors, Except Farm	2.5	1.8	2.1	1.4
Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers	3.2	3.2	3.0	2.3
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	15.2	.4	10.8	.4
Operatives and Kindred Workers	23.0	8.9	26.3	8.7
Private Household Workers	.9	52.5	1.4	53.9
Service Workers, Except Private Household	19.1	24.4	19.9	24.9
Farm Laborers, Unpaid Family Workers	--	--	.1	--
Farm Laborers, Except Unpaid Family Workers	.8	.5	.8	.2
Laborers, Except Farm and Mine	31.1	.5	31.5	.8
Occupation Not Reported	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.8

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P.-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52, 55, Table 35.

The fourth, and last, important category among males of this racial group is that of craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. This occupational group includes 15.2 per cent of the nonwhite males in Baton Rouge and 10.8 per cent in Shreveport. The opportunities for skilled workmen in Baton Rouge's industrial economy are probably greater for members of this racial group than in the predominantly white-collar economy of Shreveport.

Nonwhite females find employment in two main occupational categories. They are the same, and follow a similar rank order of importance, in both cities. More than half of the Negro women employed are engaged as private household workers. The proportion in this category in Shreveport is 53.9 per cent and in Baton Rouge it is 52.5 per cent. The second occupation of importance among nonwhite females is that of service workers (except private household). This category includes about one-fourth of all employed Negro females, with 24.9 per cent in Shreveport and 24.4 per cent in Baton Rouge engaged in such occupations.

Distribution of Workers by Major Industry by Color

In the census classification of persons by type of industry the nonwhites were not subdivided by sex, so the groups are considered by color alone for purposes of comparability. This classification is intended to show, as nearly as possible, the actual business or industry

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in which the worker is engaged rather than to place him according to socio-economic status.

Whites. The different economic structure of these cities is demonstrated in the relative importance of the various industrial categories. Three out of the four leading industrial groups are important in both areas, but they vary in degree of prevalence. (See Table XXVIII)

The most important industrial category among the whites of Baton Rouge is that of manufacturing, which occupies 27.9 per cent of that population. Manufacturing ranks second in importance in Shreveport but employs only 11.9 per cent of the white adults of that city. Shreveport's chief industrial category is wholesale and retail trade, which includes 28.5 per cent of the whites employed there, compared to 22.4 per cent in Baton Rouge. These two top-ranking industries point clearly to the reasons for the differentials in most of the other characteristics of the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport. Manufacturing requires and supports a young, mobile, masculine, population while a trade center offers attractions to a more mature, nonmobile, predominantly feminine population.

The relatively high number of persons employed in wholesale and retail trade in Baton Rouge, which is second in rank among industries, also attests to the dynamic character of that city's economy. Money is kept "in circulation" more often by a large employment group of workers in industry than by a comparable group of clerks and

TABLE XXVIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUP FOR EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY COLOR, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Major Industrial Group	Baton Rouge		Shreveport	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	.4	.9	.6	1.6
Mining	.6	--	7.5	.4
Construction	9.3	11.9	7.8	8.1
Manufacturing	27.9	12.8	11.9	9.8
Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities	6.5	5.4	11.8	6.6
Wholesale and Retail Trade	22.4	20.2	28.5	20.2
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	4.3	1.2	5.1	1.9
Business and Repair Service	3.3	1.6	3.6	2.0
Personal Services	3.5	32.0	4.4	36.9
Entertainment and Recreation	1.1	.9	1.1	1.0
Professional and Related Services	13.0	10.5	10.4	8.5
Public Administration	7.4	1.3	6.2	1.2
Industry Not Reported	.9	1.3	1.5	1.7

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52-55, Table 35.

salesmen. One reason is the higher wages and job security provided by membership in labor unions, which are more common in the industrial groups. Usually, however, the trade center type of community is characterized by greater stability than the more fluctuating markets of the manufacturing center.

The industry group that ranks third in Baton Rouge claims notably fewer of the workers than the two top-ranking ones. This is the category of professional and related services which contains 13.0 per cent of the white workers. The corresponding proportion in Shreveport for the same category is 10.4 per cent. In the latter city this category is not as far below those ranking above it, as is the case in Baton Rouge, although it holds fourth place.

Shreveport's third-ranking industrial category is that which includes transportation, communication and other public utilities, with 11.8 per cent of white workers thus employed. In Baton Rouge this category ranks sixth, and contains only 6.5 per cent of her white workers. The differential in this instance probably stems from the longer history of Shreveport as a large urban center. The marked expansion in the area of Baton Rouge occurred only in 1949 (Chapter IV). Before that time this city had not had the legal responsibility for providing extensive public facilities, particularly in transportation. The next decennial census will be likely to accord much more importance to this industrial category in the Capital City.

Occupying the next highest proportion of persons is the industrial category of construction which holds fourth rank in Baton Rouge and fifth in Shreveport. The respective percentages are 9.3 in Baton Rouge and 7.8 in Shreveport. With the increase in demands for housing, both residential and commercial, in fast-growing Baton Rouge, this differential is expected. However, the north Louisiana city is also engaged in extensive construction programs which were well under way in 1950.

Another interesting comparison is the differential importance of the industrial category of mining. In Shreveport, it ranks next to construction, constituting 7.5 per cent of the employed white population, while in Baton Rouge a negligible proportion of less than one per cent of those employed are so engaged. This indicates largely the importance of the oil and gas industry in and around Shreveport, and the much lower relative importance of oilwell drilling in the Baton Rouge vicinity.

The category of public administration has an expectedly greater proportion of 7.4 per cent of Baton Rouge's employed white population, in contrast to 6.2 per cent in Shreveport. Baton Rouge as the Capital City is the center of the state governmental administration and retains a permanent staff which augments that of the city-parish government in the census data for that city. In Shreveport the principal public administrative jobs are connected with the city government and the parish

government, since Shreveport is the parish seat of Caddo Parish.

All of the other industrial categories account for five per cent, or less, of the white populations of these two municipalities.

Nonwhites. Again the same five categories are most important in both cities among the Negroes. The first three assume the same rank, and the last two exchange positions between the two urban centers.

Of greatest importance among nonwhites is the industrial category of personal services. It contains a higher proportion of Shreveport's population, (36.9 per cent) than that of Baton Rouge (32.0 per cent), but accounts for approximately one-third of the entire employed group in both cities.

The industry second in rank is the wholesale and retail trade which employs 20.2 per cent of the nonwhites in each municipality. These jobs are usually the ones which are concerned with the transporting and handling of heavy merchandise.

Employed in manufacturing are 12.8 per cent in Baton Rouge and 9.8 per cent in Shreveport, among nonwhites. This industry ranks third. Fourth rank is occupied in Baton Rouge by construction, which ranks fifth in Shreveport. The respective percentages are 11.9 and 8.1, which gives Baton Rouge a much higher proportion of nonwhites employed in this industry than are thus employed in Shreveport.

Shreveport's fourth-ranking industrial category for Negroes

is that of professional and related services, which ranks fifth in Baton Rouge. It is interesting that, while this category has a lower rank in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport, there is a greater proportion of persons so employed (10.5 per cent) than in the north Louisiana city which has only 8.5 per cent of her nonwhites in professional and related services.

The other five categories are of less importance among nonwhites. The transportation, communication, and public utilities category contains 6.6 per cent of nonwhite workers in Shreveport and 5.4 per cent in Baton Rouge. None of the remaining industrial categories contains over 2.0 per cent of the employed nonwhites.

It is notable that the same industries are of greatest importance in both races, with the exception of personal services which is the first-ranking category among Negroes and one of the least important for whites. If the other important categories were broken down into status and wage classes, doubtless there would become evident clear distinctions between the two racial groups within each general category. It is a truism that Negroes are "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." This is another way of pointing up inequalities in wages and discrimination in employment.

Occupation and Social Class

Utilizing the application adapted from Freedman by Hitt of

of the Edwards' socio-economic scale,[13] the occupational structure of Baton Rouge and Shreveport's populations is presented in Table XXIX.

Four general classes are utilized to separate the groups according to the functional nature of the occupational activity and the accompanying social status. The categories "service-production" and "physical-production" classify the occupations functionally and the categories "white-collar" and "blue-collar" carry social status implications.[14]

Total Population. According to Hitt, the service-production occupations are generally considered to be more typically urban than the physical-production activities.[15] In the two cities under consideration in this study this holds true for the total populations. In Baton Rouge 60.9 per cent of the employed workers are classified in the

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[13] Homer L. Hitt, "Peopling the City: Migration," in Vance and Demerath, op. cit., pp. 55, 72, Footnotes 3 and 15.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 74. The service-production occupations include professional and semi-professional workers; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerical, sales, and kindred workers; domestic service workers; and other service workers. The physical-production occupations include craftsmen, operatives, and laborers. White-collar occupations include professional and semi-professional workers; proprietors, managers, and officials; and clerical, sales and kindred workers. All others are blue-collar occupations.

TABLE XXIX

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY SEX, BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1950*

Occupation[1]	Baton Rouge			Shreveport		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professionals	13.2	12.7	11.2	11.0	10.6	11.8
Proprietors	9.5	12.1	4.0	11.2	15.3	3.9
Clericals	22.2	14.0	39.9	24.0	18.6	33.6
Craftsmen	15.8	22.7	.8	12.0	18.3	.8
Operatives	15.6	20.0	5.9	13.6	16.9	7.1
Domestics	6.3	.2	20.3	8.8	.4	23.6
Service Workers	9.7	7.8	13.9	11.4	8.1	17.1
Laborers	7.7	10.5	1.0	8.0	11.8	2.1
Service Production	60.9	46.8	92.3	66.4	53.0	90.0
Physical Production	39.1	53.2	7.7	33.6	47.0	10.0
White-collar	44.9	38.8	58.1	46.2	44.5	49.3
Blue-collar	55.1	61.2	41.9	53.8	55.5	50.7

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) pp. 52-53, Table 35.

[1] Occupational categories adopted from Homer L. Hitt, "Peopling the City," in Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, The Urban South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954) p. 74, Table 5.

service-production category. The same category in Shreveport's population includes 66.4 per cent of the workers. These percentages indicate that a substantial portion of the workers in these cities are occupied in white-collar jobs. The white-collar workers in Baton Rouge include 44.9 per cent of the employed persons, but Shreveport's comparable percentage is 46.2. The latter city thus has a significantly higher relative number of persons in the white-collar status group. Since these groups are not subdivided according to race, it is probable that the greater proportion of Negroes in Shreveport has substantially lowered the percentage of white-collar workers shown here.

Males. Among males, the proportions of service-production workers is 46.8 per cent in Baton Rouge, and 53.0 per cent in Shreveport. This wide differential is indicative of the functional differences between the two cities. Roughly, the percentage engaged in service-production activities in Baton Rouge (46.8 per cent) corresponds to the percentage engaged in physical-production (47.0 per cent) in Shreveport and the same converse relationship exists between the percentages for service production workers of 53.0 in Shreveport and 53.2 in Baton Rouge.

The white-collar classification among males in these two urban centers displays similar divergences. Shreveport's white-collar group includes 44.5 per cent of the male employed workers while in Baton

Rouge only 38.8 per cent of the males are so classified. This represents a significant differential, indicating the greater importance of white-collar employment in Shreveport.

The categories of proprietors and clerical workers largely account for Shreveport's greater proportion in the white-collar category. The percentages are 12.1 for Baton Rouge and 15.3 for Shreveport in the proprietory classification, and 14.0 and 18.6, respectively, in the clerical occupations. Conversely, Baton Rouge's higher proportion of blue-collar workers (61.2 per cent to 55.5 per cent in Shreveport) is largely accounted for by higher proportions in the categories of craftsmen and operatives, the percentages in Baton Rouge and Shreveport being, respectively, 22.7 and 18.3 among craftsmen and 20.0 per cent and 16.9 per cent among operatives.

The evidence seems conclusive that Shreveport employs relatively more males in the service-production and white-collar activities and Baton Rouge employs relatively more males in the physical-production and blue-collar occupations.

Females. Females devote themselves largely to service-production activities in these two municipalities. In 1950 they were disproportionately employed (92.3 per cent in Baton Rouge and 90.0 per cent in Shreveport) in this category. In the three white-collar categories, higher proportions of Baton Rouge women were engaged than for those categories in Shreveport. White-collar workers in Baton

Rouge constituted 58.1 per cent compared to 49.3 per cent of the females in Shreveport. The two categories of domestics and other service workers contained relatively more women in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge. The respective percentages for domestics were 20.3 for Baton Rouge and 23.6 for Shreveport. Other service workers accounted for 13.9 per cent of employed women in Baton Rouge and 17.1 per cent in Shreveport.

Thus, it seems clear that women in both Baton Rouge and Shreveport are disproportionately concentrated in the service-production occupations, and in white-collar status situations. Further, women in Baton Rouge are more heavily concentrated in these categories than are employed women in Shreveport.

Changes in the Occupational Structure

Changes in the occupational structure of Baton Rouge and Shreveport between 1940 and 1950 are indicated in figures 48, 49, 50 and 51. Figures 48 and 49 present the occupational structure of the total populations, and Figures 50 and 51 present that of the nonwhite populations. The period between these two census reports were chosen because there was a change in the classification of occupations, beginning with the 1940 census. The data on occupations in previous census reports would not be readily comparable with 1940

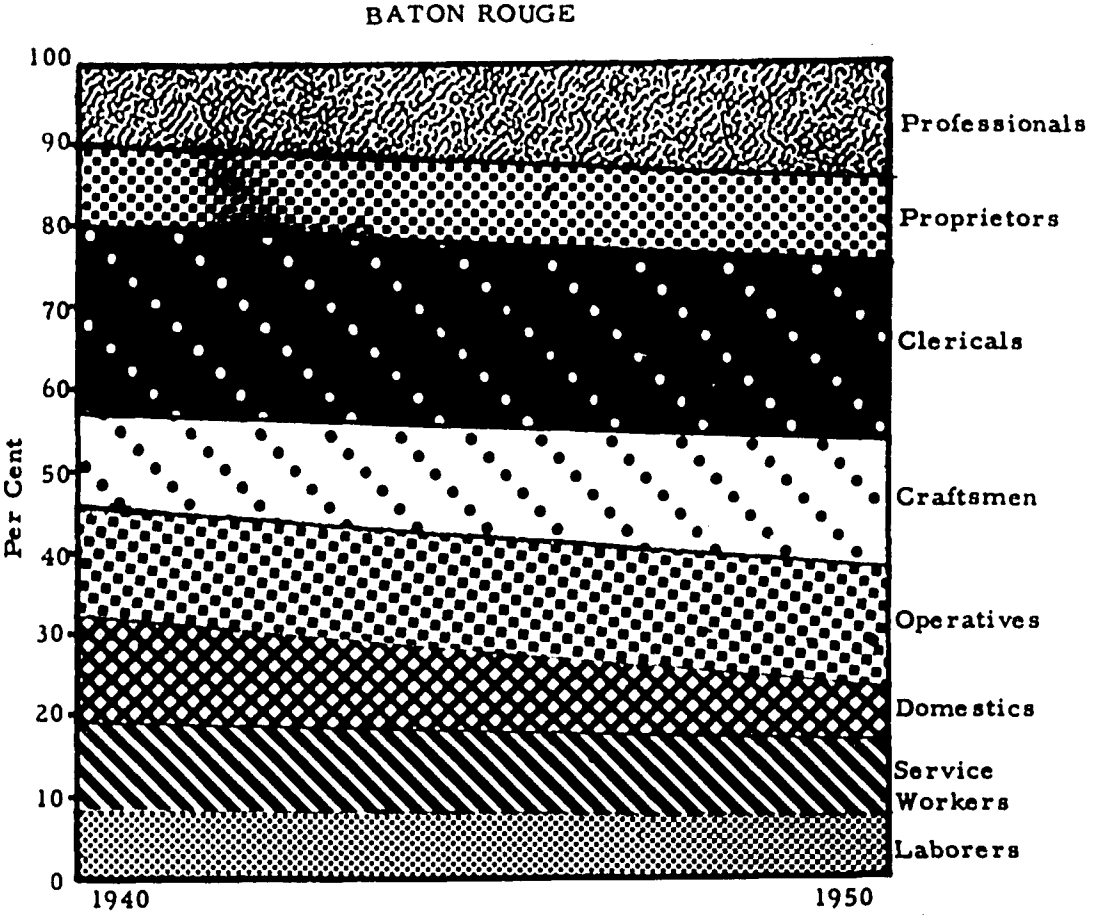

Figure 48. Changes in the occupational structure of the population of Baton Rouge: 1940-1950. Source: Table XXIX and Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) Table 23.

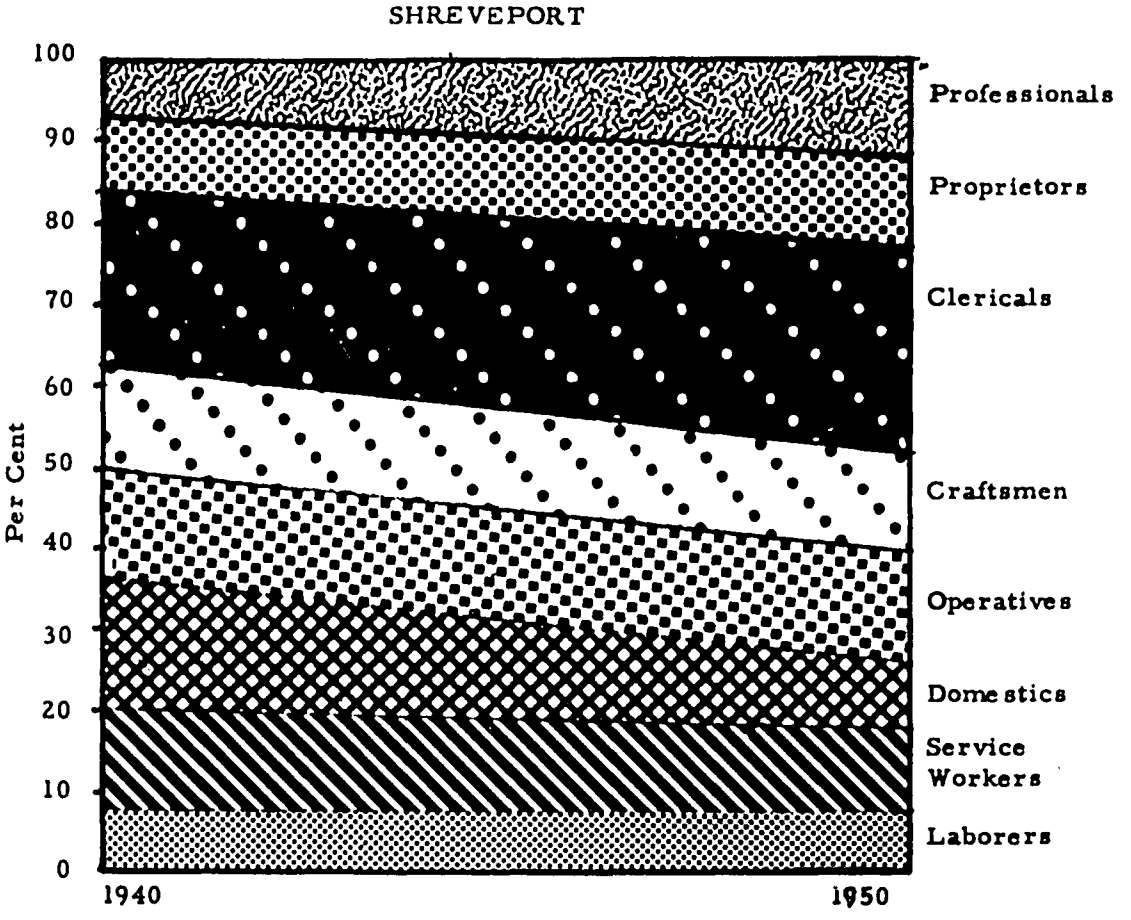

Figure 49. Change in the occupational structure of the population of Shreveport: 1940-1950.
Source: Table XXIX and Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) Table 23.

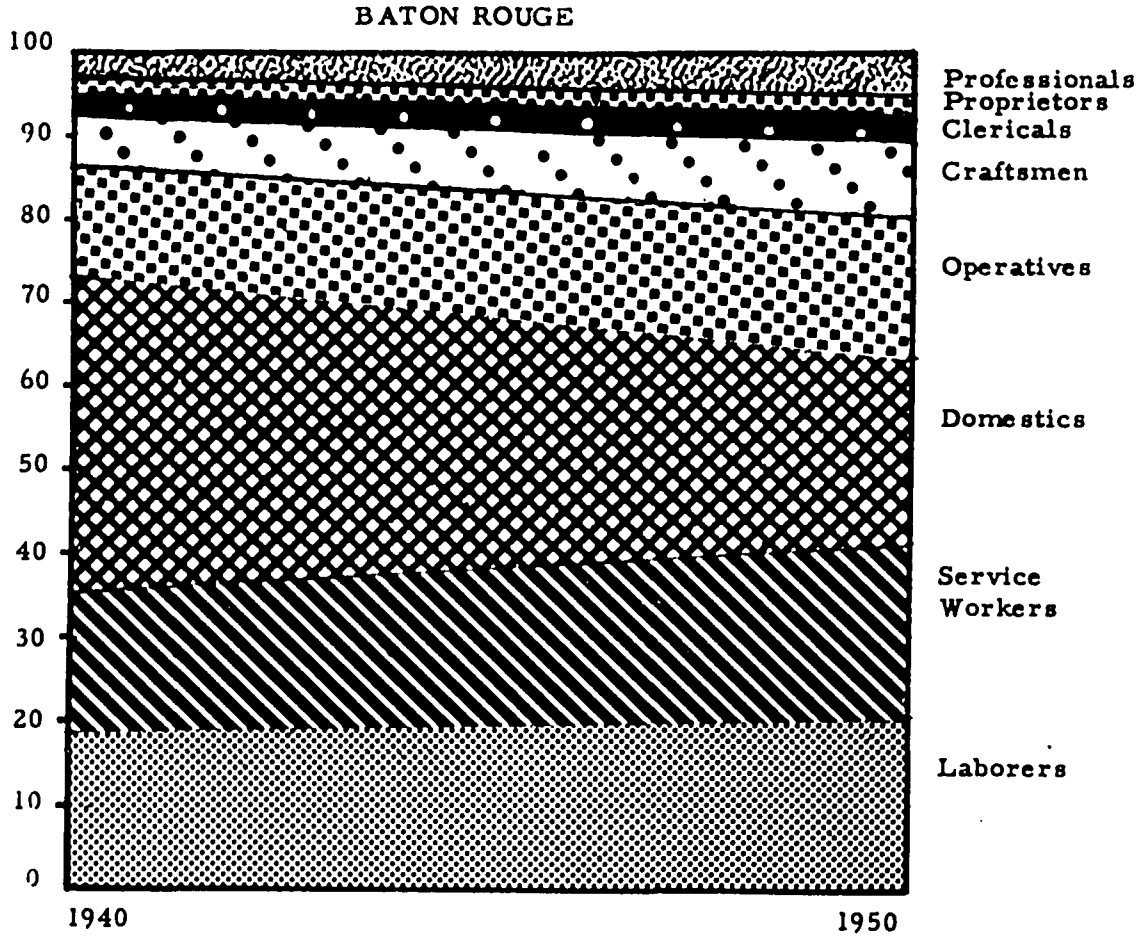

Figure 50. Changes in the occupational structure of the nonwhite population of Baton Rouge: 1940-1950.
Source: Table XXIX and Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) Table 23.

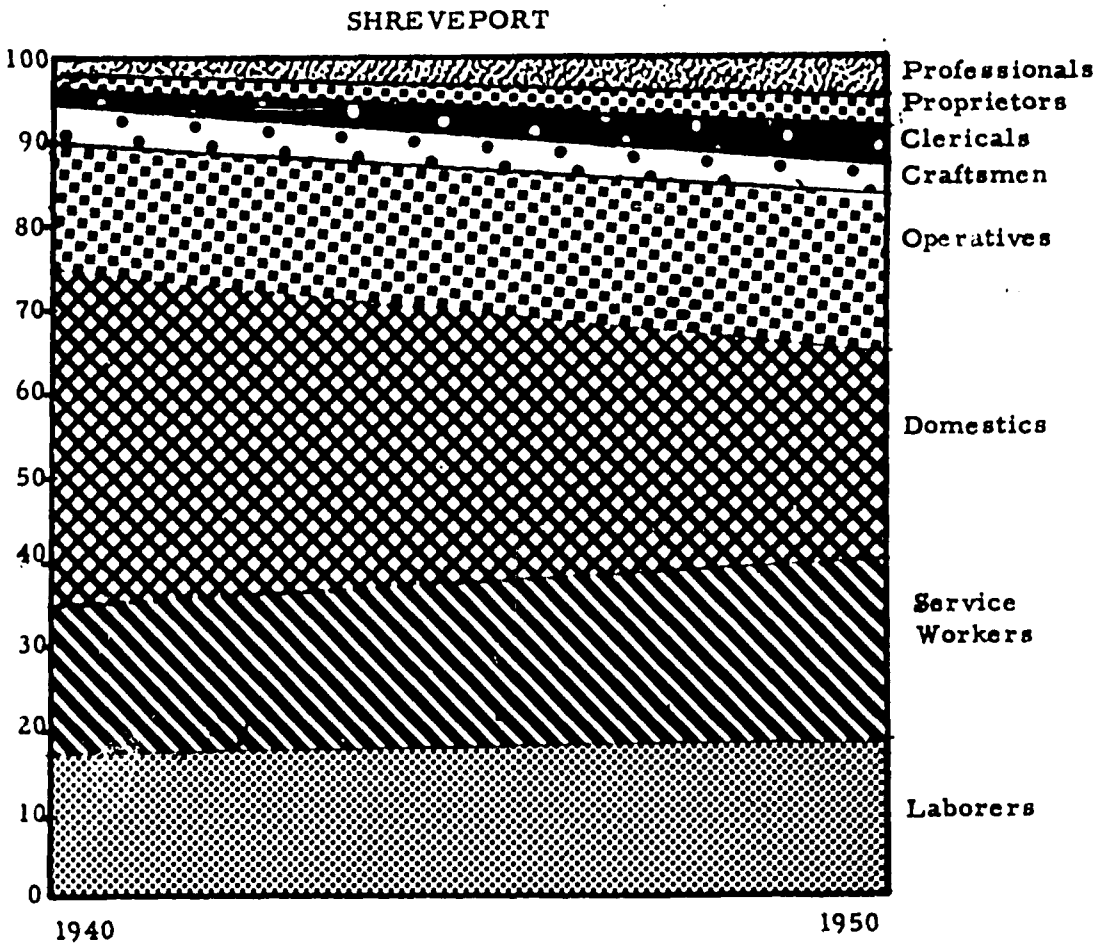

Figure 51. Changes in the occupational structure of the nonwhite population of Shreveport: 1940-1950

Source: Table XXIX and Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 3 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) Table 23.

and 1950 data.[16]

Examination of Figures 48 and 49 reveals that clerical workers are decreasing slightly in Baton Rouge while increasing in Shreveport. Craftsmen are increasing notably in Baton Rouge, and only slightly in Shreveport. Possibly the most significant change during the ten-year span is to be observed in Figures 50 and 51 which represent the nonwhite populations. In both cities there is a marked decrease in the proportions of domestics, with an increase among service workers and operatives in this race. Among Baton Rouge nonwhites, there is an increase among craftsmen, but a decrease occurs among this occupational group in Shreveport. These changes probably reflect the improved status of the Negro in these two cities relative to job opportunities as well as changing educational status.

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[16] Smith, Population Analysis, pp. 165, 166, 173. Smith points out that prior to 1940, occupational statistics in the census reports held two serious defects: (1) failure to distinguish between those who were working on their own account and those who were employed by others, and, (2) lack of consistent classification procedure along both industrial and occupational lines. The 1940 census classified the numerous occupations into eight large groups, which represent an important advance over earlier procedures.

General Conclusions

More than half of the persons 14 years old and older in these two Louisiana cities are counted in the labor force. Shreveport has a higher proportion of persons (57.1 per cent) in the labor force than Baton Rouge (53.5 per cent). This is true among whites and nonwhites.

In both cities males outnumber females in the labor force, but in Baton Rouge the males are enumerated in the labor force in a slightly higher per cent over females than is true of those in Shreveport. Shreveport males and females are employed in higher proportions than are those in Baton Rouge. The importance of females in the labor force of Shreveport is notably greater than that of the same group in Baton Rouge.

Whites are heavily predominant in numbers in the labor force of both cities, but Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the labor force. Negro males outnumber employed females but Negro females are more numerous in the labor force than white females.

Of those not in the labor force, the majority is female and classified as keeping house.

The highest proportion of those employed is found in the category of "private wage and salary workers" in both cities. This constitutes approximately four-fifths of those in Shreveport and more than three-fourths of those employed in Baton Rouge. The smallest category in both cities

is that of "unpaid family workers."

Among occupations, those employed as clerical, sales, and kindred workers constitute the greatest proportion in both cities, but the category is more important in Shreveport. Craftsmen and operatives are the next most important occupations in rank in both urban centers.

More than half the males in Baton Rouge are engaged in physical-production activities while approximately the same proportion in Shreveport are employed in service-production activities. Females are disproportionately employed in service-production jobs, to the extent of more than nine-tenths of their group in both cities.

Shreveport males are more predominantly engaged in white-collar, or upper status positions than are Baton Rouge males, but in both groups more than half are classified as blue-collar workers. A majority of Baton Rouge females and about half of those in Shreveport are in the white-collar category.

Undoubtedly, the higher proportion of Negroes in the labor force of Shreveport is reflected in these classifications because among Shreveport nonwhites less than ten per cent are in white-collar occupations.

The conclusion, often stated in this analysis, that Shreveport is predominantly a white-collar occupation center and that Baton Rouge presents a predominantly blue-collar employment situation, still appears

valid. It is true of the white population, which constitutes more than three-fourths of the total number in Baton Rouge and about two-thirds of the total population in Shreveport.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION

The data on religious composition are among the most important used in the analysis of a population. Religion, like the family, is a universal cultural phenomenon and its influence on individual personality is highly significant. Landis states that religious affiliation and attendance at church are significantly correlated with happy family life and successful marriage.[1] In the Kinsey study on the sex life of the American female, he finds that pre-marital and extra-marital sex experiences are less frequent among devoutly religious women.[2]

Religion, to the extent that it contributes to seriousness of purpose, and to a philosophy of self-sacrifice and usefulness, has far reaching effects on personal values.[3] It influences the number of children born into the family and thereafter conditions all of their social experiences. Religious influences become inextricably

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[1] Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 326.

[2] Alfred C. Kinsey, and others, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Philadelphis: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953), pp. 304-307, 424-425.

[3] Paul A. Landis, Population Problems, (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 80.

interwoven with the other cultural patterns and thus may exert great influence over the behavior of individuals, sometimes without their awareness of the religious motives.[4] Religion thus affects such other demographic phenomena as the birth rate, death rate, marital status, educational status, occupational status and migration.

The Data

Because of the tremendous importance of religion as a demographic and social factor the data concerning this characteristic of the population are highly significant. There is no completely reliable source at present from which to secure such information. However, a Gallop Poll in 1954 reported that out of an estimated 102 million adults in the United States approximately 81,000,000, or almost eight out of ten, claimed to be church members.[5] This report identified about 80 per cent of United States adults as members of some religious body. In the group questioned 83 per cent of the women and 75 per cent of the men claimed church membership.

The census of the United States does not collect data on religious affiliation or preference. Theoretically there is a voluntary census of

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[4] Thompson, Population Problems, pp. 113, 114.

[5] Report by George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion. Published in The Morning Advocate, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 21, 1954.

the church bodies themselves, which is reported to the Bureau of the Census and tabulated by that authority every ten years, in the years ending in six. Data for religious bodies have been gathered four times by the Census of Religious Bodies, for 1906, 1916, 1926 and 1936. The last such count was tabulated in 1936. Obviously such data have little validity today. Most of the religious bodies included in that census have increased numerically and some of the Protestant denominations have subdivided under other names. Also, numerous new sects and denominations have developed since 1936. In cases where population composition has changed, as in city growth, the relative importance of different religious bodies has altered.

The 1936 religious census was seriously unreliable at the time of enumeration. There were no accepted criteria for inclusion of age categories, and in some cases children were excluded from the count while others included persons of all ages. All churches did not furnish statistics.[6] Smith concludes that, "these materials are very incomplete, lack comparability, and are almost impossible to correlate with other census data."[7]

However, although incomplete and erroneous, these are the only accumulated data on religion which are available. They serve, in

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[6] Smith, Population Analysis, pp. 177, 178.

[7] Ibid., p. 176.

a limited manner, to demonstrate the relative importance of different denominational groups in a given area. Also, in the present study they provide a basis for interpretation of certain cultural differentials between the north and south Louisiana cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

Baton Rouge and Shreveport

According to the census of Religious Bodies, in 1936 Baton Rouge had 31,944 persons who were church members. This number constituted the remarkable proportion of 96.4 per cent of the estimated population of that city in 1936.[8] Of these church members 97.9 per cent was concentrated in five denominational groups, leaving only 2.1 per cent to make up the membership of the 65 other individual churches in the city.

Shreveport's reported church membership in 1936 of 43,486 was not much greater numerically than that of Baton Rouge and it comprised only 48.5 per cent of the estimated population of that year. Five major denominational groups constituted 92.7 per cent of the religious membership of the latter city, leaving 7.3 per cent for all other religious bodies.

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[8] There are two probable explanations of the high percentage of church members reported from Baton Rouge: (1) the church membership consisted of many persons who resided outside the city limits in what was then the thickly settled urban fringe area, and (2) the high percentage of Catholics, in which count all ages are included, even babies.

The sex ratio of the church membership in Baton Rouge was 72.3 and in Shreveport it was 68.0. The higher proportion of men enumerated as church members in Baton Rouge than that of Shreveport may be due to the greater importance of the Catholic church in the former city with its more blanket inclusion of all age and sex groups.

The Church Population of Baton Rouge and Shreveport

Tables XXX and XXXI give the religious composition of the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport in 1936. Among the three broad religious faiths of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish congregations in America, these two cities favor the Christian denominations of Protestant and Catholic. However, those professing the Jewish faith are numbered among the five most important religions, holding fifth place in each city. In Baton Rouge, 97.9 per cent of reported members were Christians and 2.1 per cent were Jews; while in Shreveport the Jews were relatively more important. In the latter city, Jews comprised 5.0 per cent of the total church population and Christians the other 95.0 per cent of the members of the denominations included in the count.

In 1950, both of these cities doubtless would have numbered in their populations various religions other than those contained in these three broad faiths. There are many Oriental, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern religions represented on the University and Centenary

TABLE XXX

THE CHURCH POPULATION OF BATON ROUGE: 1936*

Religious Bodies	Membership	Number Churches	Per Cent
Adventist Bodies			.2
Seventh Day Adventist	69	1	
Assemblies of God			
General Council	--	-	-
Baptist Bodies			37.6
Southern Baptist Convention	1,374	2	
Negro Baptist	10,632	41	
National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the United States	--	-	
Church of Christ (Holiness) United States of America	--	-	
Church of Christ, Scientist	73	1	.2
Church of God in Christ	85	1	.3
Church of the Nazarene	59	1	.2
Churches of Christ	20	1	.1
Greek Orthodox	--	-	--
Jewish Congregation	590	1	1.8
Lutheran	167	2	.5
Methodist Bodies			12.5
African Methodist Episcopal	376	4	
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	20	1	
Colored Methodist Episcopal	--	-	--
Methodist Episcopal	539	3	--
Methodist Episcopal, South	3,056	3	
Pentecostal Assembly of Jesus Christ	--	-	--
Presbyterian Church in United States	1,709	5	5.3
Presbyterian Church in United States of America	1,720	2	5.3
Protestant Episcopal	--	-	--
Roman Catholic	11,263	5	35.3
Salvation Army	192	1	.6

*Source: Census of Religious Bodies: 1936, Vol. I, pp. 675-676, Table 31.

TABLE XXXI

THE CHURCH POPULATION OF SHREVEPORT: 1936*

Religious Bodies	Membership	Number Churches	Per Cent
Adventist Bodies			.5
Seventh Day Adventist	221	2	
Assemblies of God			.1
General Council	65	1	
Baptist Bodies			38.4
Southern Baptist Convention	7,856	4	
Negro Baptist	8,457	26	
National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the United States	380	1	
Church of Christ (Holiness) United States of America	60	1	.1
Church of Christ, Scientist	179	1	.4
Church of God in Christ	226	4	.5
Church of the Nazarene	252	2	.6
Churches of Christ	79	1	---
Greek Orthodox	304	1	.7
Jewish Congregation	2,180	2	5.0
Lutheran	101	1	.2
Methodist Bodies			30.8
African Methodist Episcopal	758	5	---
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	--	-	---
Colored Methodist Episcopal	2,411	3	---
Methodist Episcopal	590	3	---
Methodist Episcopal, South	7,433	4	---
Pentecostal Assembly of Jesus Christ	56	1	.1
Presbyterian Church in United States	2,239	3	5.1
Presbyterian Church in United States of America	--	-	---
Protestant Episcopal	1,266	1	2.9
Roman Catholic	5,813	3	13.4
Salvation Army	247	1	.6

*Source: Census of Religious Bodies: 1936, Vol. I, pp. 675-676, Table 31.

College campuses, as well as in the local populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport.

In Baton Rouge among the religious bodies that were numerically small, six of them had only one church and each constituted only a fraction of one per cent of the total church membership. These were: Seven Day Adventists, Church of Christian Scientist, Church of God in Christ, Church of the Nazarene, Churches of Christ, and the Salvation Army. The Lutherans had three churches, and their membership constituted 5 per cent of the entire church population. All of these church groups together accounted for 2.1 per cent of the church membership of Baton Rouge.

The smaller church bodies in Shreveport constituted 7.3 per cent of the entire membership. Those having only one church were: General Council of Assemblies of God, Church of Christ (Holiness), United States of America, Church of Christ, Scientist, Greek Orthodox Church, Lutheran American Church, Pentecostal Assembly of Jesus Christ, Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Salvation Army. Only one of this number contained more than one per cent of the total church membership: the Protestant Episcopal Church with 2.9 per cent. This latter church ranks sixth in importance. The Seventh Day Adventists, Church of God, and Church of the Nazarene had two churches each in Shreveport. Disciples of Christ, with three churches, had 4.7 per cent of the total membership. Although the Church of God in Christ had four

churches, the membership was only 226, or .5 per cent of the total church population.

It is clear that many of these are small sects, and with the exception of the Protestant Episcopal Church,[9] each group constitutes a very small proportion of the entire church membership of Shreveport.

The Principal Religious Groups

In Table XXXII the percentage distribution of religious bodies is given for the five that are numerically the most important. The Baptist bodies constitute the leading denomination in both Baton Rouge and Shreveport. The proportion of 38.4 per cent Baptists in Shreveport slightly exceeds that of Baton Rouge Baptists which is 37.6 per cent.

Traditionally, the Baptist denomination has dominated the South as well as Louisiana,[10] but there is great heterogeneity within Baptist bodies in religious belief and practice. This is evidenced in the numerous separate Baptist groups. In Baton Rouge there were only two of these special church divisions, in comparison to three in Shreveport and eight in the state of Louisiana. Of the 12,006 Baptists in Baton Rouge in 1936,

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[9] An interesting sidelight of this denomination is the fact that the first religious service held in Shreveport was conducted by Episcopal Bishop Leonidas K. Polk, in 1839. Bishop Polk, known as "The Fighting Bishop," was an outstanding commander in the Civil War. He held the rank of Lieutenant General, the same army grade given "Stonewall" Jackson.

[10] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, p. 132.

TABLE XXXII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS IN THE CHURCH POPULATION OF BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1936*

Religious Bodies	Per Cent	
	Baton Rouge	Shreveport
All Denominations	100.0	100.0
Baptist	37.6	38.4
Methodist	12.5	30.8
Roman Catholic	35.3	13.4
Presbyterian	10.7	5.1
Jewish	1.8	5.0
Other	2.1	7.3

*Source: Census of Religious Bodies: 1936, Vol. I, pp. 675-676, Table 31.

1,374 of them belonged to the Southern Baptist Convention and had two churches. The greater number, 10,632 members occupying 41 churches, was affiliated with Negro Baptists. Among the 16,693 Shreveport Baptists, Negro Baptists again ranked first with 8,457 members but met in only four churches. The Southern Baptist Convention was second in importance with 7,856 members and 26 churches, and the remaining body, the National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly of the United States of America, had 380 members and one church. (See Figure 52)

The second highest proportion of church members (35.3 per cent) in Baton Rouge belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. The high percentage of Catholics in this south Louisiana city is not unexpected since the Catholic religion predominates, generally, in the southern section of the state.[11] The Roman Catholic Church ranked third in Shreveport's population, but comprised only 13.4 per cent of that city's population. It is interesting that the Catholic membership is relatively high, in this traditionally Protestant section of Louisiana. As pointed out by Smith and Hitt, the returns in the census for the Catholics were probably much more complete than for the great variety of Protestant groups,[12] both because of more accurate church records

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[11] Ibid., p. 135.

[12] Ibid., p. 131.

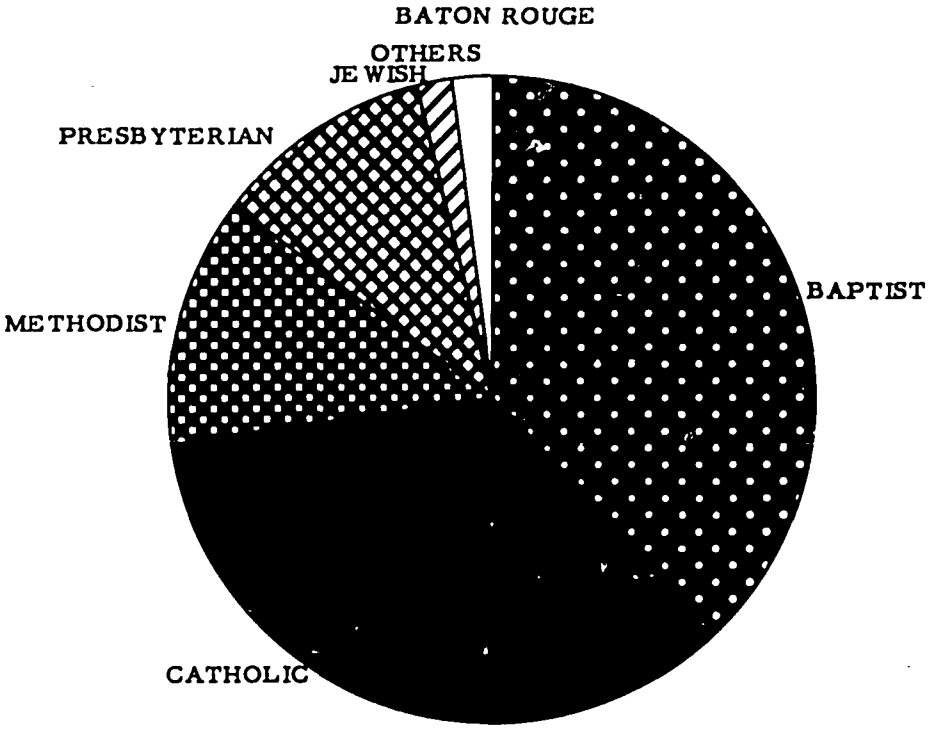

Figure 52. Distribution of reported church membership by major denominations, Baton Rouge: 1936.

(SOURCE: TABLE XXXII)

and the inclusion of all age groups. This may account, in part, for the high numerical rank of the Catholic group among religious bodies. It is one of three religious groups that constitutes over 10 per cent of the city's church population in Shreveport. (See Figure 53)

Shreveport's second ranking religious body and Baton Rouge's third, was Methodist. The Methodist bodies included 30.8 per cent of Shreveport's church membership and only 12.5 per cent of that of the Capital City. Like the Baptists, the Methodist groups are numerous and are characterized by slight differences in religious belief and practice. In Baton Rouge there were four Methodist bodies in 1936. The largest of these was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with 3,056 members and three churches; then came the Methodist Episcopal Church which had 539 members, meeting in three churches. The African Methodist Episcopal Church had four churches but only 376 members. Smallest of the Methodist groups was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, with one church and 20 members.

Shreveport Methodist bodies, which were proportionately much more important than those in Baton Rouge, also had four divisions. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with 7,433 members and four churches, ranked first in numbers. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church had 2,411 members and three churches; the African Methodist Episcopal Church had 758 members and five churches; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, with 590 members had three churches. (At this time

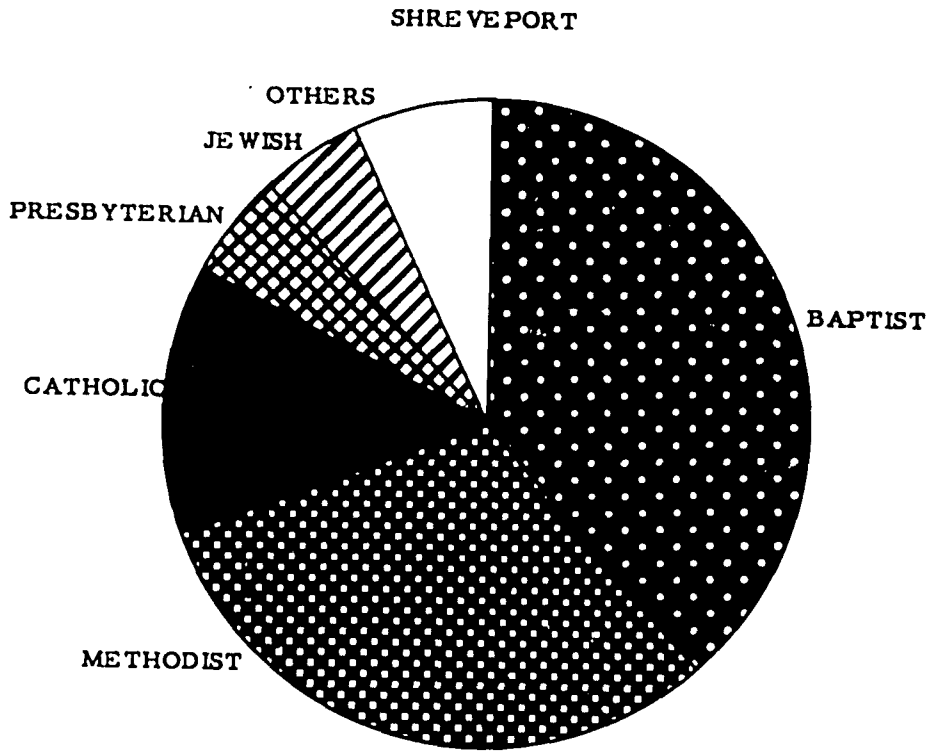

Figure 53. Distribution of reported church membership, by major denominations, Shreveport: 1936.
(SOURCE: TABLE XXXII)

the Northern and Southern Methodists had not united).

The Presbyterian Churches constituted the fourth largest church group in both cities. In Baton Rouge there were two Presbyterian bodies in 1936, and they were fairly equal in numerical importance. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, with 1,720 members, had two churches, while the Presbyterian Church in the United States enrolled 1,709 members in five churches. These two bodies constituted 10.7 per cent of the total church membership in Baton Rouge.

In Shreveport, the Presbyterian Church in the United States reported 2,239 members who met in three churches. This religious group provided 5.1 per cent of the church membership of Shreveport.

As mentioned above, those professing Judaism occupied fifth place among religious bodies in these two Louisiana cities. They constituted a higher proportion (5.0 per cent) of Shreveport's church population than that of Baton Rouge (1.8 per cent). In the former city those of the Jewish faith were contained in two congregations, but in Baton Rouge there was only one. In actual numbers Shreveport had 2,180 persons professing Judaism and Baton Rouge had 590, a ratio of more than three to one more in Shreveport than in the south Louisiana city.

General Conclusions

It has been pointed out that these data on religious composition are seriously out-of-date, that they were incomplete and unreliable at the time they were reported, and that they lack comparability. However, it is believed that these deficiencies should not completely eliminate them from consideration. They have some value in identifying major religious differentials in these two Southern cities and they serve to indicate the major religious denominations.

Based on the various local religious surveys which have been made in the last decade,[13] it is safe to assert that the major denominations in 1936 in Baton Rouge and Shreveport were also the major denominations in 1950. It is likely that even the respective ranks are largely the same. Of course, with population increases, all religious groups are numerically greater and perhaps have changed some in relative importance.

In Baton Rouge in 1936 the five most important church bodies were the Baptist, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and Jewish, in that order. The five top-ranking religious bodies in Shreveport in 1936 were: Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Jewish. Other denominations accounted for less than five per cent of

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[13] These survey reports were made by individual ministers and largely based on memory. So far as could be ascertained, there was no coordinated effort by a central authority toward a religious survey that was to be recorded for future reference.

the church membership in both cities.

Although data on this point are lacking, the writer is of the opinion that the recent in-migration to Baton Rouge has been greater among Protestants than among Catholics, thereby lessening further the strength of the once predominant Catholic religious bodies in that city. In all probability, the in-migration to Shreveport has also been largely Protestant, but this would have the effect of maintaining the status quo among ranking religious bodies there.

CHAPTER XII

POPULATION CHANGE

The population of every community is always undergoing change, both in numbers and in composition. Population changes, ultimately due to the three factors of births, deaths and migration, have been occasioned by many things throughout human history, such as invasion, war, pestilence, changing food supply and changing mores.[1] Baton Rouge and Shreveport have experienced several of these influences, in varying degrees, throughout their history.

Changes Prior to 1950

The population of Baton Rouge was first enumerated in the United States Census in 1840 and that of Shreveport was first enumerated in 1850. Table XXXIII gives the population figures and the per cent of increase in each decennial census from the earliest record to the latest census reports.

Baton Rouge maintained a higher population than the younger city of Shreveport until the census of 1880. In fact, the greatest

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[1] MacIver and Page, op. cit., p. 531.

TABLE XXXIII

NUMBER AND PER CENT INCREASE IN POPULATION OF BATON ROUGE AND SHREVEPORT: 1840-1950* ‡

Year**	Baton Rouge Total Population	Baton Rouge Per Cent Increase	Shreveport Total Population	Shreveport Per Cent Increase
1840	2,269	----	----	----
1850	3,905	72.1	1,728	----
1860	5,428	39.0	2,190	26.7
1870	6,498	19.7	4,607	110.4
1880	7,197	10.8	8,009	73.8
1890	10,478	45.6	11,979	49.6
1900	11,269	7.5	16,013	33.7
1910	14,897	32.2	28,015	75.0
1920	21,782	46.2	43,874	56.6
1930	30,729	41.1	76,655	74.7
1940	34,719	13.0	98,167	28.1
1950	125,629	261.8	127,206	29.6

*Source: United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-A18, Louisiana: Number of Inhabitants, United States Government Printing Office, 1951, p. 7, Table 4.

** Census reports were first available for Baton Rouge in 1840 and for Shreveport in 1850.

‡ These data are for the urban place.

increase in the population of Baton Rouge, prior to that which occurred between 1940 and 1950, was exactly 100 years earlier, during the 1840 and 1850 period. The rate of increase for that early decade was 72.1 per cent. Shreveport's greatest increase in population (110.4 per cent) occurred during the decade between 1860 and 1870. When that city's number of inhabitants first surpassed the number in Baton Rouge, which was between 1870 and 1880, Shreveport's increase in numbers was 73.8 per cent while the Baton Rouge rate of gain for the same period was only 10.8 per cent.

It is interesting to note the differential growth rates between the two cities. (See Figure 54) The population of Baton Rouge has climbed rather erratically, showing an occasional low per cent of increase. Shreveport, on the other hand, has shown steady, consistent growth in numbers, the lowest rate of increase during a decade being 26.7 per cent. With the 1950 census report, however, a dramatic change appears to have occurred with reference to the relative size of the two cities. According to the 1940 Census, Baton Rouge was a small city of less than 35,000 persons. It had been Louisiana's third city in size for some years, but it included, in 1940, over 50,000 fewer persons than the state's second-ranking city, Shreveport. With deceptive suddenness, Baton Rouge's population had risen at mid-century, to 125,629, which was only 1,577 less than the 127,206 persons enumerated in Shreveport. This represented a phenomenal

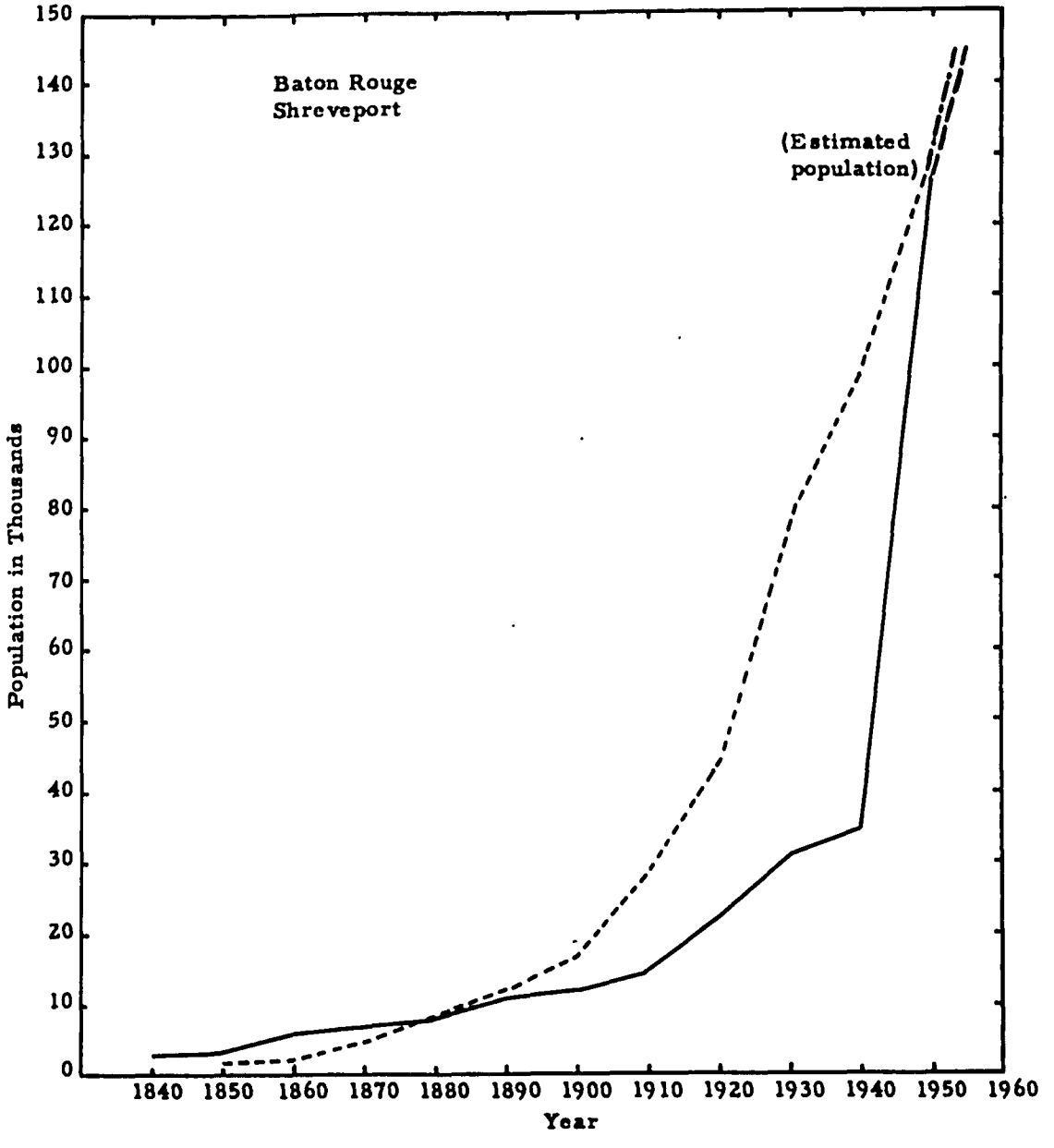

Figure 54. Population growth, Baton Rouge and Shreveport: 1840-1950.
(SOURCE: TABLE XXXIII)

increase of 261.8 per cent in the Capital City.

This notable change within one decade in the official population figures for the city of Baton Rouge was due to several factors. Probably the most significant one was the expansion in area by extension of the boundary lines in 1949.

Both cities had made some expansion by incorporation throughout the years, but that of Shreveport had been rather in piecemeal fashion, with about ten additions between 1839 and 1953. (See Figure 8, Chapter III) In Baton Rouge, on the contrary, there was only one really significant change in area. That was the expansion of the city limits in 1949 from an area of approximately 4.0 square miles to that of approximately 30.0 square miles.[2] During that same ten-year span, the area of Shreveport was increased from 18.7 square miles to 24.0 square miles.[3]

However, the increase in population numbers in the Capital City would undoubtedly have been greater, apart from the extensive incorporation of new area, than that of Shreveport. The factor of in-migration to a rapidly growing industrial center was also influential in the increase in size of the population.

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[2] County and City Data Book, 1949 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 357, Table 5; County and City Data Book, 1952 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 458, Table 4. Actual area increase was from 3.8 square miles to 30.2 square miles.

[3] Ibid.

Changes Since 1950

The data presented in the preceding section were largely obtained from federal census reports. They are, therefore, more definite and more reliable than are data which are obtainable for the period since 1950. The information presented in this section was obtained primarily from the local City Planning Commissions and Chambers of Commerce in Baton Rouge and Shreveport. They represent the most accurate figures to which these organizations have access, and they are comparable for the two cities because the local fact-finding groups rely upon the same or very similar procedures and sources.

Baton Rouge

Considered in the perspective of its more than two centuries of existence Baton Rouge has grown slowly. (See Figure 55) Within the limits of what is now designated as the Standard Metropolitan Area of Baton Rouge (East Baton Rouge Parish) there were only 88,415 persons in 1940. Therefore it is apparent that the present evidence of rapid growth is a recent development.

At mid-year, 1955, the estimated population of the city of Baton Rouge is 151,500 and that of its metropolitan area is 210,000.[4] Between 1950 and 1954 building permits had more than doubled (747 and 1,290,

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[4] Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce. Based on Sales Management: 1955 Survey of Buying Power.

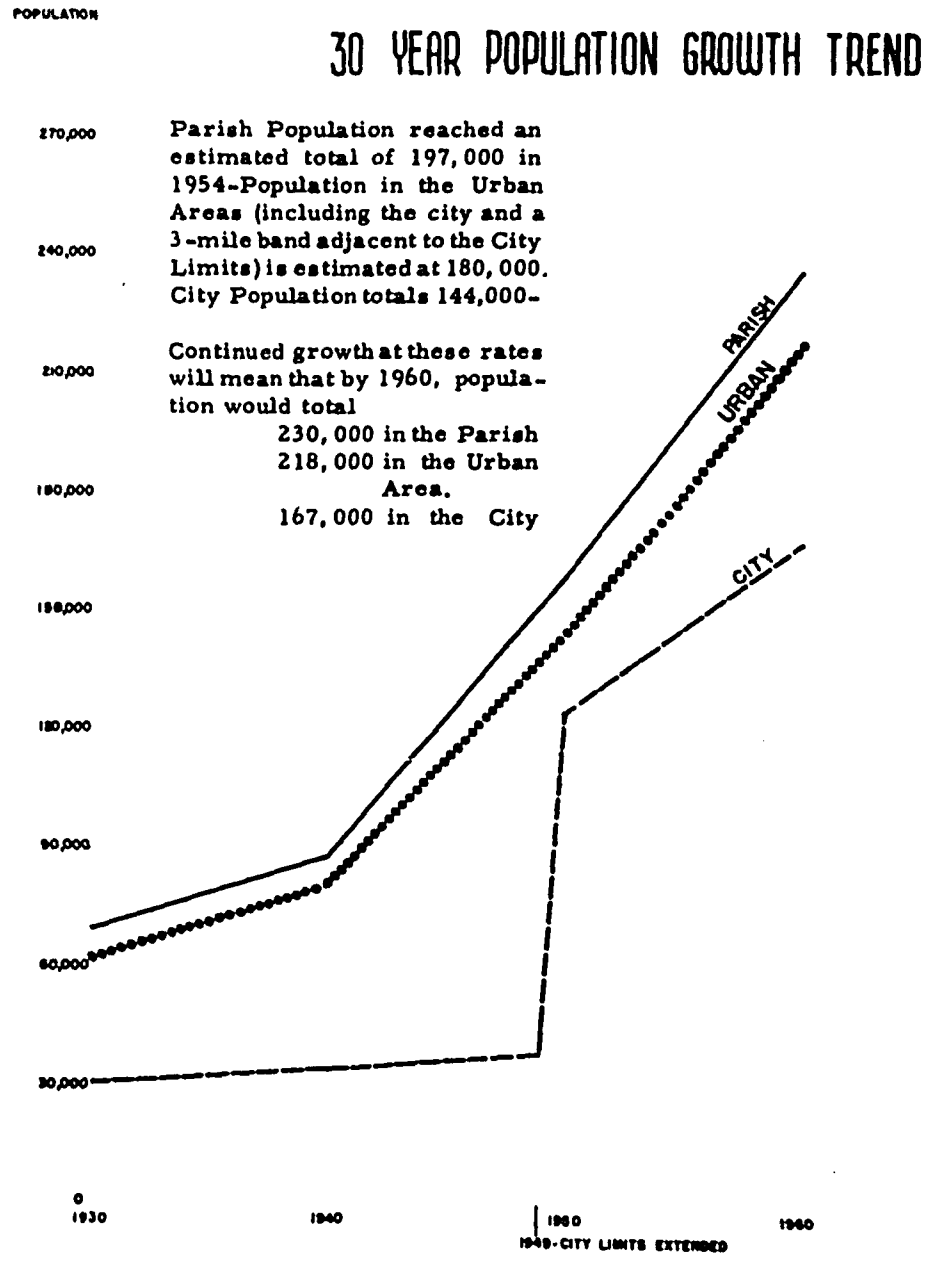

Figure 55. Population change, Baton Rouge: 1930-1950. (Courtesy of Baton Rouge City-Parish Planning Commission)

respectively). During the first six months of 1955 building permits totaled 1,101. Assuming the last half of the year to continue at the same rate, the increase in five years in building permits granted would be 294.8 per cent.

Bank deposits, postal receipts, utilities and other measures of business trends show consistent increases from 25 to 75 per cent during the same five-year period. These are usually reliable indicators of population increase.

According to a report by the Chamber of Commerce, Baton Rouge has exchanged places with Shreveport in rank among cities since 1950.[5] With the estimated Baton Rouge population at 151,500, and the same source estimating Shreveport's population at 150,900, Baton Rouge becomes the eighteith ranking city in population in the nation and Shreveport the eighty-first.[6]

On the basis of the population estimate of 151,500 for Baton Rouge in 1955, the numerical increase during the five-year span is 25,871 and the rate of increase is 20.6 per cent.

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[5] Baton Rouge, published by The Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce (August, 1955), p. 7.

[6] Ibid. It might be well to point out that this source listed the respective ranks of these two cities in 1950 as Shreveport 86 and Baton Rouge 94, whereas the official census publication, County and City Data Book, (op. cit.) listed the ranks as Shreveport 80 and Baton Route 81.

Shreveport

The Shreveport Chamber of Commerce estimates the population of that city at 160,000 as of January 1, 1955. According to these figures, there has been an increase in numbers of inhabitants of 32,794 since 1950. This would represent a rate of increase of 23.9 per cent, which is somewhat higher than the estimated rate of increase in Baton Rouge, during the same length of time. Figure 56 indicates recent growth in Shreveport's population.

Utilizing a common source for comparative purposes, however, the figure 150,900 is indicated as the estimated population of Shreveport.[7] The numerical gain in Shreveport's population between 1950 and 1955 would then be 23,694, and the rate of increase 18.6 per cent for the same five-year period in which the increase in Baton Rouge is estimated at 20.6 per cent. Obviously, data for a full ten-year period, such as will be reported in the 1960 Census, provides a much more reliable basis for comparison of the change in population numbers in these two cities.

Factors in Population Change

As Davis points out, the demographer wishing to explain a change in numbers considers three variables: births, deaths, and

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[7] Ibid.

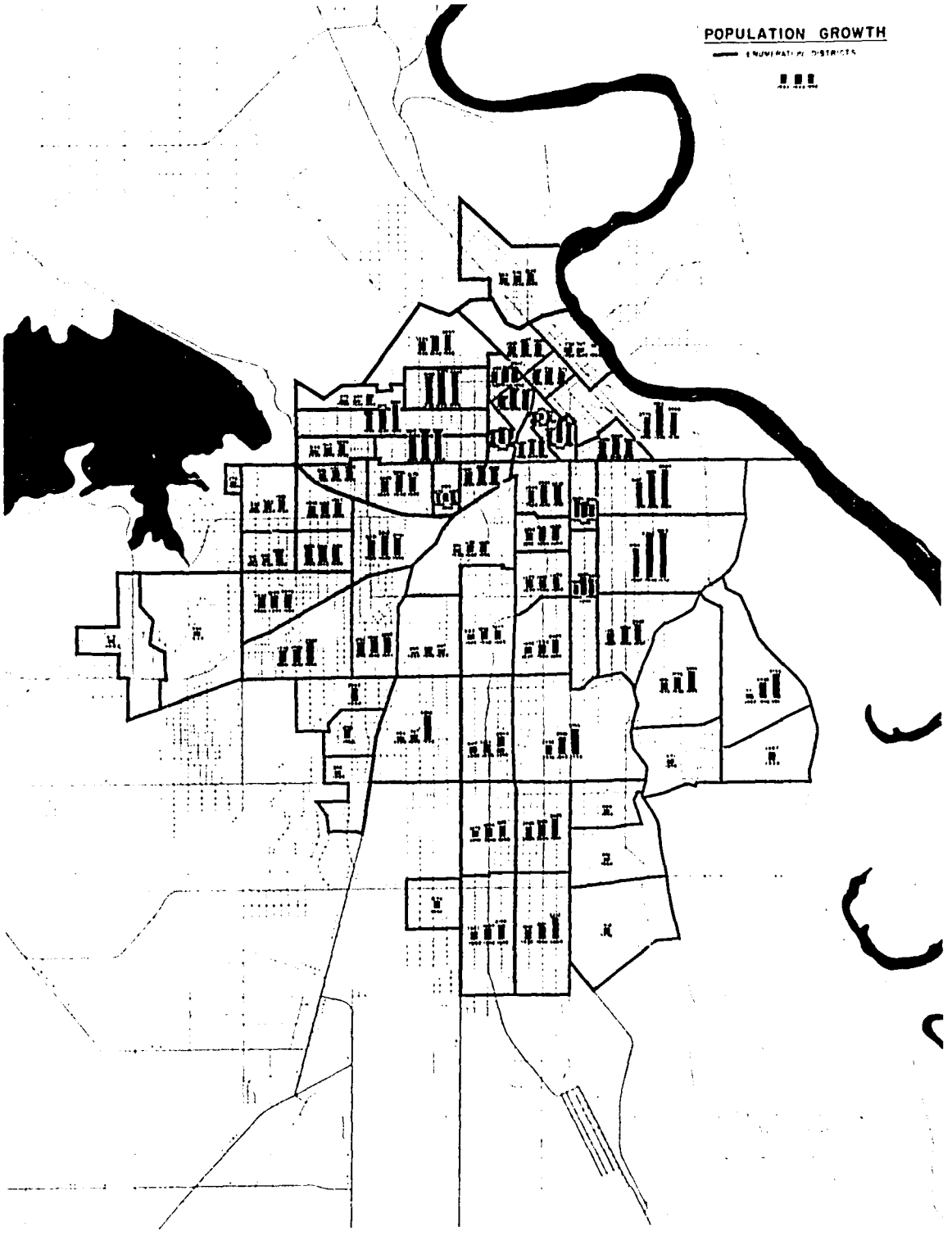

Figure 56. Population change by enumeration districts, Shreveport: 1930-1950. (Courtesy Arch R. Winter, Planning Consultant)

migration. He subtracts the deaths from the births to get "natural increase" and he subtracts the emigrants from the immigrants to get "net migration."[8]

Insofar as possible, this simple formula will be followed in the analysis of population change within the Baton Rouge and Shreveport Standard Metropolitan Areas between 1940 and 1950.

Births

The crude birth rate is merely the ratio of the number of births occurring in a population during one year to the number of persons comprising the population.[9] Specifically, it is the number of births per 1000 people. Computed for metropolitan areas, the crude birth rate in 1950 for the total population was 29.6 in Baton Rouge and 30.2 in Shreveport.[10] Among whites it was 28.1 and 26.0, respectively, indicating a significantly higher birth rate among Baton Rouge whites than for the comparable group in Shreveport.[11] The nonwhite rates

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[8] Kingsley, Davis, Human Society (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 595.

[9] Smith, Population Analysis, p. 194.

[10] Vital Statistics of the United States: 1950, Vol. II, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953) p. 71, Table 13; United States Census of Population 1950, Bulletin P-B18, Louisiana: General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952) p. 44, Table 33.

[11] Ibid.

reveal one reason for Shreveport's higher birth rate in the total population. Baton Rouge nonwhites had a crude birth rate of 32.6 compared to the notably higher birth rate among Shreveport nonwhites of 37.0.[12]

Fertility ratios relate the number of children under five years of age to the number of females in the child-bearing ages of 15 to 44 years. The advantages of this index over the crude birth rate are: (1) that it is partially standardized by age and sex; (2) it does not rely on imperfect birth-registration data; and (3) it can be calculated from census data.[13] It is expressed as the number of children under five years for each 1000 women in the child-bearing ages.

The fertility ratio for the total population of the Baton Rouge metropolitan area was 494.4 and 488.3 for Shreveport's population in 1950. This agrees with data presented in the age-sex pyramid indicating a greater proportion of youngsters in the population of Baton Rouge. For whites, the respective fertility ratios are 479.4 for Baton Rouge and 441.1 for Shreveport, a significant differential. Among nonwhites, again the fertility ratio in Baton Rouge falls below that of Shreveport as it did for crude birth rates. In 1950 the fertility ratio of Baton Rouge nonwhites was 525.4 compared to 572.2 for Shreveport nonwhites.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Smith and Hitt, The People of Louisiana, pp. 137-138.

Deaths

The crude death rate relates the total number of deaths in one year to the total population of that year. It is computed by dividing the number of deaths in a population in a given year by the population at mid-year, and multiplying the quotient by 1,000. It does not take into account differential mortality of the sexes or the prevailing age distribution.

In the years 1944-1951 the crude death rate for the total population in the Baton Rouge metropolitan area was 6.9, while in Shreveport it was 9.1. Again the racial factor is strongly influential.[14] Among whites in Baton Rouge the crude death rate was 5.3 while in Shreveport it was 7.2. Among females in Shreveport the crude death rate was 7.8, which is considerably higher than that of 5.9 prevailing for Baton Rouge females. Males in the North Louisiana city display a similarly higher death rate (10.6) than those of Baton Rouge (7.8). Predominance of those in the younger ages in Baton Rouge in the various categories is undoubtedly an important factor in these differential death rates.

The nonwhite death rate reveals a wide discrepancy between the two cities. In Baton Rouge the nonwhite death rate was 10.0, but

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[14] Homer L. Hitt, and Paul H. Price, Health in Rural Louisiana at Mid-Century (Louisiana Bulletin No. 492, Baton Rouge, 1954) p. 52.

in Shreveport it reached the high level of 12.3.[15] The higher death rate among Shreveport's nonwhites suggests that a lower level of living exists in that city's Negro population, possibly as a result of the sub-standard segregated living areas and the less favorable employment situation for that race, as mentioned earlier. Also, the greater predominance of older Negroes in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge might well increase the mortality rate among them.

Certain additional explanations of these differentials may be ventured. Since these figures are for the metropolitan area, or the entire parish, the Shreveport population includes a greater proportion of Negroes than does the urban parish of East Baton Rouge. This condition is conducive to the higher general mortality rates in Shreveport.

The infant mortality rate is highly indicative of the status of a population's health. This judgment is based on the assumption that the youngest members of a society benefit most from its available sanitary and medical facilities. The infant mortality rate is measured in terms of the number of deaths of children under one year for each 1,000 live births.

In 1950, the infant mortality rate in Baton Rouge's total population was 29.5 in sharp contrast to 35.7 in Shreveport.[16] To

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Vital Statistics of the United States: 1950, op. cit., p. 71, Table 13.

understand and interpret this differential it is necessary to examine the racial differentials. It is found that among whites, Baton Rouge metropolitan area had actually a higher infant mortality rate (24.8) than that of Shreveport (20.2). This clearly indicates that one of the more important reasons for the differential in the total population is accounted for by the nonwhites. The infant mortality rate among Shreveport's nonwhites (53.7) is significantly greater than that of nonwhites in Baton Rouge (37.5). Again this implies that Shreveport's nonwhites are greatly disadvantaged in comparison to that race in the Capital City. The economic factor has been repeatedly mentioned as significant. Another determinant may be the strictly segregated pattern of housing of the Negroes in Shreveport. They live primarily in large crowded segments and in substandard dwellings with a lack of sanitary facilities that approximates slum conditions. Because of an active program of slum clearance presently in effect it is predictable that in 1960 the vital statistics for nonwhites in Shreveport will present a brighter picture.

Migration

Notwithstanding the differential between Baton Rouge and Shreveport in natural increase, the change in the population of these cities has been largely influenced by migration.

Between 1940 and 1950 the natural increase (excess of births over deaths) in the population of the Baton Rouge Standard Metropolitan

Area was 25,798. The increase in the total population, however, was 69,821 during the same period.[17] This would indicate in-migration numbering 44,023.

In the Shreveport Standard Metropolitan Area the situation is quite different. With a natural increase between 1940 and 1950 of 28,444 and an increase in population of only 26,344,[18] there was actually an out-migration of 2,100 persons. The latter condition is doubtless a reflection of the influence of the rural residents in Caddo Parish migrating out to other areas in excess of the numbers of in-migrants to the Shreveport urban place.

The only urban place data relative to migration in these two cities which are available in the 1950 census indicate that of the Baton Rouge mid-century population, 8,705 persons had lived in a different county or abroad in 1949, and 11,475 of the Shreveport inhabitants in

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[17] Vital Statistics of the United States: 1940, Part II (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) pp. 137, 306, Tables 7, 13; ibid., 1941, p. 33, Table 11; ibid., 1942 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1944) p. 39, Table 1; ibid., 1943 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1945) p. 42, Table 2; ibid., 1944 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1946) p. 24, Table 2 ibid., 1945 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1947) p. 27, Table 2; ibid., 1946 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948) pp. 52-53, Table 2; ibid., 1947 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949) pp. 34-35, Table 1; ibid., 1948 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950) p. 34, Table 1; ibid., 1949 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office 1951) p. 33, Table 1; ibid., 1950 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1953) p. 71, Table 13; United States Census of Population: 1950, Bulletin P-A18, Louisiana: Number of Inhabitants (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951) p. 8, Table 5.

[18] Ibid.

1950 were thus classified.[19]

Recent reports from the respective Chambers of Commerce of the two municipalities refer to the urban place specifically and they reveal that migration in 1955 is becoming more extensive than the 1950 census figures indicate. The following is an excerpt from a Baton Rouge publication:

> Of our population of 151,500 over one-third have lived in Baton Rouge less than five years. As a matter of fact, 57.7 per cent of our population has lived here less than 15 years.[20]

A statement from a similar source in Shreveport is quoted below:

> We don't attempt to keep a running total of new families moving into Shreveport, and those domiciled here moving out, but a recent feature article in the Shreveport Journal, which was written with some assistance from our office, estimated that an average of twenty families move into Shreveport every day, and eight move out, which gives us a net gain of approximately twelve families per day average.[21]

Although not definite enough in the latter instance to be comparable, these data indicate the dynamic character of the population of both of these urban areas in 1955. Were accurate information obtainable as to source of migrants and the age and sex composition, it would be possible to interpret more realistically the sociological significance of such migration.[22]

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[19] County and City Data Book: 1952, op. cit., p. 458, Table 4.

[20] Baton Rouge (July, 1955), op. cit., p. 1.

[21] Letter to the writer, dated August 15, 1955, from L. C. Grosjean, Manager, Civic Department, Shreveport Chamber of Commerce.

[22] For a meaningful analysis of migrants to Southern cities, see Homer L. Hitt, "Peopling the City: Migration," op. cit., pp. 54-77.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study is an attempt to make a rather general comparative analysis of the demographic characteristics of two Louisiana cities, Baton Rouge and Shreveport. Most of the findings support established data produced in other urban studies, but certain variations which occur are significant to the peculiar social milieux of each particular area.

It is the writer's belief that these two urban centers are fairly representative of the rapid process of urbanization which is occurring in the entire South, one of the last regions to forsake its rural character. The changes in the number and composition of these populations which are due to the growth process should have meaningful implications for other students of urban demography. It is hoped that these assembled data and their interpretation will contribute to the content and significance of reliable accumulated information on urban population phenomena.

There is a statement of general conclusions at the close of the respective chapters which should best summarize the data presented therein. Therefore, in this chapter only a brief resume is presented, with suggested implications which may be drawn from the total findings of the study.

In a recent classification of Southern cities according to metropolitan function and dominance,[1] the cities of Baton Rouge and Shreveport were placed in the category of subdominants. However, these data were based largely on reports preceding 1950. It is likely that in the broader regional context this same classification would be accurate, but within the state of Louisiana these two cities have become strong candidates for metropolitan status. During the five years since 1950, each of these urban centers has gained more than 25,000 inhabitants, and achieved national recognition in increase of business and industrial development.

In 1950, the north Louisiana city of Shreveport ranked eightieth in the United States with a population density of 5,300 while the Capital City of Baton Rouge, in south-central Louisiana, ranked eighty-first and numbered 4,160 persons per square mile. According to available population data, the areas of greatest density were in the central parts of the cities, but these areas show a consistent loss of density while the outer sections and fringe areas are increasing in density. In addition to natural increase, both of these cities grew by accretion, and by migration in response to economic development. The early haphazard expansion patterns which resulted in the creation of interstitial areas

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[1] Rupert B. Vance and Sara Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration," in Vance and Demerath, The Urban South, op. cit. pp. 128-132.

characterized by substandard living conditions have been succeeded by professionally controlled ecological development.

The populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport are largely white and probably will so continue. The higher fertility ratio of non-whites is offset by a higher mortality rate, and the net out-migration of Negroes in recent years has been consistent. In both cities the proportion of Negroes to whites has been declining during the past several decades, although Shreveport has a greater proportion of Negroes in her population than has Baton Rouge. Negroes constitute the only non-white racial group of significance in the two urban centers. The small proportions of foreign-born consist almost entirely of white Europeans.

The age and sex composition of these metropolitan areas have important implications for public planners in the respective areas. The population of Baton Rouge is concentrated more largely in the productive ages while Shreveport has relatively more aging persons. Age-sex pyramids reveal that Baton Rouge can be classed as having a younger, more masculine population, while Shreveport's inhabitants constitute an older, more feminine group.

Sex ratios are higher at all age levels in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport, although both cities display the usual urban characteristic of low sex ratios in general. In comparison with other-urban areas in Louisiana, males among Baton Rouge inhabitants again are proportionately more important and those in Shreveport are less important. The

sex ratios in Shreveport and New Orleans exhibit greater similarities to each other than to Baton Rouge. Both the Capital City and the North Louisiana metropolis of Shreveport reflect, in the low sex ratio among the aging, the greater life expectancy of females.

Family stability characterizes both Baton Rouge and Shreveport. In these cities more adults are married than are single, widowed or divorced. In each case the categories rank in the order listed. Shreveport has greater proportions of persons married in the young adult ages while relatively more married persons in Baton Rouge are in the middle and advanced ages. In both cities relatively greater proportions of males than females above the age of thirty years are living in the married state, and in the single state, and smaller proportions are widowed. Single males are relatively more numerous in Baton Rouge than in Shreveport. Among nonwhites in both cities marriages occur at earlier ages, and the widowed group is more important, than among whites. Widowed nonwhites are relatively more numerous in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge. Since this race constitutes a greater proportion of Shreveport's population than is the case in the Capital City, the importance of the widowed category in the former city has greater implications for welfare service needs.

The educational status of Baton Rouge and Shreveport citizens is higher than that of the remainder of the state. Although Shreveport's record of those attending school is higher in general than that of Baton

Rouge, the latter city's adults attained higher median years of school completed and a superior record of numbers completing four or more years of college. In both cities females were consistently better educated than males and whites had higher educational achievement than nonwhites. Considerable progress has been made during the last decade in the educational attainment of the population of both of these Louisiana cities.

In these two urban areas more than half of the persons 14 years old and older were included in the labor force in 1950, with a slightly higher proportion thus classified in Shreveport than in Baton Rouge. Males outnumber females in the labor force and whites are heavily predominant in numbers although Negroes constitute a significant proportion of the employed and employable. In both cities the highest proportions of those employed in 1950 were found in the category of "private wage and salary workers" and the lowest proportions were classified as "unpaid family workers." More males in Baton Rouge are employed in physical-production activities, while in Shreveport the majority of males are engaged in service-production activities. Females in both cities are employed almost exclusively in service-production jobs. Shreveport white workers are more predominantly engaged in white-collar occupations, while blue-collar jobs are more important in Baton Rouge than in the North Louisiana city. These data are consistent with the stable trade-center function of

Shreveport as opposed to the more fluctuating industrial economy of Baton Rouge.

While Catholics constitute the second most important religious group in Baton Rouge and rank third in Shreveport, both of these cities are now predominantly Protestant. Baptists are the most numerous among religious bodies in each urban area. Shreveport has always been a Protestant center, but Baton Rouge is losing her Catholic character largely as a result of the recent great in-migration of industrial workers and their families. These are drawn to a great extent from all parts of the Gulf Coast region, including the neighboring Protestant states of Mississippi and Texas, as well as North Louisiana.

The population changes, which have been notable in Baton Rouge and Shreveport since 1940, have been reflected in markedly increased numbers and in shifting characteristic features of composition. In addition to the religious trends noted above, the changing age and sex distribution influenced by rising birth rate and occupational structure, increasing educational demands, and differing family characteristics mark a state of flux in the populations of Baton Rouge and Shreveport. The demands for additional housing, living space, and schools, together with the harassing problems related to the changing social status of their Negro inhabitants present a challenge to more efficient social planning in these two Southern cities. There is

every indication that population problems in Baton Rouge and Shreveport will become increasingly more numerous.

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Ora Vesta Russell Watson was born in Sabine Parish, Louisiana, on January 30, 1904. She spent her early childhood and grammar school years in Galveston, Texas, and graduated from high school in Noble, Louisiana. Awarded a two-year Teachers' Certificate at the Louisiana State Normal College, she began a teaching career in the public schools of Louisiana in January, 1922. She was granted the Bachelor of Science degree at Centenary College in 1937 and the Master of Arts degree from Teachers' College, Columbia University, in 1942. First employed in college teaching at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute in September, 1942, she continued there for four years. From 1946 to 1952 she was a member of the faculty of Centenary College in Shreveport. During the two years between September, 1952, and September, 1954, she was engaged in graduate study at Louisiana State University. In September, 1954, she was employed in the Department of Social Sciences at Northwestern State College where she is currently teaching. She is at present a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Louisiana State University.

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Title of Thesis: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of Two Louisiana Cities: Baton Rouge and Shreveport

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